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No. 4, October-November-December 1979

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A RELIABLE SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL EDUCATIONAL WORK

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 3-10

/Article/

/Text/ In preparing for the 26th party congress, the labor collectives and ideological institutions under the guidance of the party organizations are successfully implementing the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," are increasing the quality and effectiveness of education and are strengthening its ties with the practical work of building communism. Scientific, first of all sociological research occupies an important place in this activity, which is of enormous sociohistorical importance.

The need to ensure a high scientific level of propaganda, to enrich regularly the theoretical and methodological experience of propaganda personnel and to increase the efficiency and concreteness of propaganda and agitation work and its link with life and the solution of economic and political problems is emphasized in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee.

Among the questions, toward the thorough study of which the decree of the CPSU Central Committee aims scholars, are the content and methods of the ideological activity of the party "under the conditions of mature socialism, the ways of increasing the effectiveness and quality of ideological work; the formation of a Marxist-Leninist outlook of various groups of workers; the development of an active position in life as the most important task of moral education; the educational functions of the labor collective; the methodology of the comprehensive approach to the organization of the entire matter of education; the study of public opinion; the peculiarities and methods of the ideological struggle on the international arena at the present stage."[1]

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1. "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy rabote. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS ot 26 aprelya 1979 goda" /On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 26 April 1979/, Moscow, 1979, p 13.

The majority of these problems are at the meeting point of various sciences: sociology, social psychology, philosophy, ethics, pedagogy, scientific communism; consequently, their study presumes the radical improvement of the coordination of the research work of scientific institutions, particularly the substantial broadening of the coordinating activity of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the inclusion in its sphere not only of sociological centers, but also of a number of scientific institutions which are studying the sociopsychological, philosophical, ethical and pedagogical aspects of the problems enumerated in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee.

The role of Marxist-Leninist sociology as a science which is called upon to coordinate the studies of the questions of ideological and political educational work, is determined first of all by the fact that these questions cannot be thoroughly and comprehensively solved in isolation from the study of other social problems, such as the historical advantages of socialism, the essence of the socialist way of life, the laws of the development of the mature socialist society into a communist society, the influence of the scientific and technical revolution on various aspects of public life, the development of Soviet democracy and the consolidation of the socialist state system. The more thoroughly and comprehensively these problems are studied in science, the greater the extent to which it can enrich the content and reasoning of propaganda and the criticism of our ideological opponents. The most important thing is that educational work cannot be successful, if it is not an integral part of the system of objective factors which influence the formation and development of the individual, the system, of which the socio-economic relations of mature socialism, the level of organization of production and the efficiency of its functioning are the basis. Long ago it was noted: in the labor collectives, where work is going well, where everyday concern about the conditions of the work and daily life of the people is displayed, where wages and the stimulation of labor are properly organized and, hence, the objective conditions for the development of socialist competition have been created, educational and ideological work yields the maximum impact. For this reason it is truly difficult to overestimate the importance which the implementation of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On the Improvement of Planning and the Intensification of the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on the Increase of Production Efficiency and Work Quality," has for the further improvement of the socialist economy and, consequently, the effectiveness of education. As was noted in a PRAVDA editorial devoted to this enormously important document, "the party is aiming all planning activity toward the achievement of high end national economic results for the sake of the more complete satisfaction of the increasing public and personal needs. Here it is important to use more efficiently what we have, to rely primarily on the intensive factors of the development of the economy, to introduce more actively in production scientific and technical achievements and advanced know-how."[2]

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2. "A High Level for Planning Work," PRAVDA, 3 August 1979.

Lenin's principle of the unity of economic organizing and ideological educational work acquires during the implementation of the measures outlined by the party on improving planning new opportunities to influence the practice of education both directly in the sphere of labor activity and outside it.

The further democratization of planning, the thorough consideration of the experience of the masses in compiling and implementing plans, the fact that their drafting will begin directly with associations, enterprises and organizations, will considerably increase the participation of the workers in production affairs, will increase their social activeness and responsibility, will create new stimuli of the political and moral development of the masses.

In turn the implementation of the comprehensive goal programs on the most important regions and directions of economic activity, including the decrease of manual labor, the expansion of the production of consumer goods, especially items of the highest quality category, the steps being taken by the party and the government on balancing the plans of economic and social development--all this is leading to the substantial improvement of the objective conditions of the formation of the individual and is conducive to the elimination of the negative influence on this process of the shortcomings in the organization of labor, in trade, in consumer services, which create at times incorrect, distorted ideas about the potentials of socialism as an economic system and are conducive to the preservation of the recurrences of a utilitarian psychology and morals.

The thorough study of the laws and "mechanisms" of the influence on the intellect, feelings and the behavior of people of their public and private life and especially directly the social milieu, on the basis of the fact that the consciousness of the individual "...is at first the consciousness of the /immediate/ /in italics/ environment which is perceived by the senses,"[3] is necessary in order to place the results of socio-economic progress at the service of the cause of educating the masses in the spirit of communist ideology and culture.

One of the main components of the success of propaganda and educational activity is the consideration of the features of the object of ideological influence and the specific situation in which it is carried out. Such substantial changes have occurred in the education, culture and psychology of people that to conduct educational work according to the models which were established long ago and, what is the main thing, are common for all means to deliberately doom it to failure. Precisely for this reason the decree of the CPSU Central Committee especially emphasizes that the main weakness of propaganda and education until recently was the fact that they did not

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3. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." /Works/, Vol 3, p 29.

always conform to the increased educational and cultural level and requirements of the workers and inadequately took into account the dynamic nature of the socio-economic processes and spiritual life of contemporary Soviet society.

Soviet sociology can give significant assistance to party organizations in improving ideological and political educational work by the thorough, systematic study of the changing spiritual needs and requirements of various groups of the population, the features of their psychology, behavior, perception and evaluation of phenomena of socio-economic life and culture.

At present the studies of young people are acquiring the greatest urgency both because in the not too distant future they have to assume complete historical responsibility for the fate of socialism, for the prosperity and security of the homeland and in connection with the complexity and contradictoriness of this very stage in the development of the individual and with the existence in him of potentials not only of a positive, but also of a negative order.

At present the period of youth has been lengthened considerably: acceleration substantially speeds up the transition from childhood to youth, while the introduction of universal compulsory secondary education and the more and more extensive dissemination of higher education slow the discovery by young people of economic independence and social responsibility. Infantilism has become a real danger, especially as the concern of the older generation about children at times is easily converted into everyday guardianship over them and leads to a decrease of demandingness. Meanwhile, independence and demandingness are the most important conditions of the formation of the individual, who meets the criteria of a citizen of socialist society, a person who has been granted the most extensive rights and on whom great and important duties have at the same time been placed.

Such, on the whole, natural and progressive trends as the increase of the well-being of the population, the expansion of the opportunities for not only the necessary, but also the so-called conspicuous consumption of material wealth, the increase of the information of all the strata of the population, beginning with children, the reduction of physical workloads and the increase of mental workloads, urbanization and the migration processes connected with it, the change in the system of social determination of individual behavior also substantially complicate the conditions of education. At the present stage of the development of socialist society education should ensure not only the assimilation by the individual of the cultural values prevailing in society, but also the formation in him of a system of self-control, which is called upon to replace external (visual) social control, which has been substantially weakened in large cities, in order to prevent the appearance of a situation of "permissiveness," which facilitates the appearance, and at times the dissemination of survivals of the past, the antipodes of communist morality, immorality and crime.

Under present conditions the increase of the social influence on individual behavior largely depends on the activeness of public opinion and the increase of publicity, criticism and self-criticism.

As is correctly noted in the editorial of the magazine KOMMUNIST, the critical attitude toward our shortcomings and toward the level of the already achieved socialist development and its comparison with the more remote goals and tasks of the party are the natural consequence of the education of the Soviet people in the spirit of communist ideals. "It is necessary, however, to work persistently so that such criticism, which arises as a reaction to a certain discrepancy between the ideal and reality, would never be divorced from the positive activity, which is aimed at the elimination of the existing omissions, at the further improvement of the new society and at the solution of new, more complicated problems, would not give rise among a portion of the people, and especially young people, to the aspiration to assume the attitude of an outside critical observer who, without doing anything, does not err and is always right...."[4]

The evaluation of the events, of which a person is a party or a witness, is a manifestation of his position in life. The activeness of this position consists not only in the public expression of one's opinion, but also in helping to develop and consolidate success or to correct a shortcoming, to support a good initiative or to prevent an antisocial deed.

The formation not of platonic, but of energetic activeness so that both in production and in the sphere of daily life, leisure and informal contact every person would be capable of defending the public interest as his own interest, is now the main and most complicated task of education, at all its levels--in the family, the school, the labor collective. Particular responsibility for the coordination of ideological educational work and the assurance of its continuity, a fighting, offensive spirit, efficiency and quality rests here on the labor collective and its party, trade union and Komsomol organizations.

The fact that a large number of different organizations and institutions are performing this work can serve as a source of both its effectiveness and its weakness: everything depends on the level of coordination of this work, on that division of labor among its participants, which would eliminate, on the one hand, duplication and, on the other, neglect, the remaining outside the social influence of one facet or another of the forming individual. In recent years both the scientific and the mass press have raised more and more urgently, for example, the issue that not one educational institution in practice is studying such important aspects of the moral and psychological development of young people as their preparation for marriage, the teaching of the culture of contacts and first of all that "stable

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4. "The Socialist Ideal and Real Socialism," KOMMUNIST, No 11, 1979, p 24.

emotional nicety, without which all other virtues--an excellent education, erudition, efficiency, public work, an enthusiasm for art and sports--are reduced to naught."[5]

Such education should begin with early childhood and should be the main concern of the family, the school, children's and youth public organizations and institutions. But this in turn requires earnest public and state measures, which are aimed at the strengthening of the family, the elimination of alcoholism as a survival which does the maximum harm to its stability and the health of newborn babies, the increase of the educational standard of parents, the increase of the effectiveness of the ideological, political, labor, moral and esthetic education of pupils and students of vocational and technical schools, the stepping up of Komsomol work with children and adolescents at the place of residence.

The CPSU Central Committee attaches especially great importance in the drive for exemplary public order and discipline to the increase of the role of public opinion, emphasizing at the same time that this drive presumes both persuasion by word, the use of means of propaganda and education, and the application of the force of the law. The question, which of these measures (or system of measures) is the most effective in what situation, with respect to what type of person, is extremely pressing for the practical aspect of education, whether it is a question of the normal process of development of the individual or of the overcoming of the abnormalities which have already been noticed in it. Meanwhile, this question has scarcely been studied in sociology, social psychology and pedagogy, which, of course, also affects the quality of work of the organizations and institutions, which have been called upon to solve the problem of completely overcoming immorality and crime. Suffice it to say that much is still unclear even in the solution of such a vitally important problem for the people directly engaged in education as the correlation of persuasion and compulsion. Not by chance is it possible to observe in the press, and at times in practice, "slants" first in one direction, then in another. These difficulties can be explained: the dialetics of persuasion and compulsion is always concrete, therefore here, more than anywhere else, there are needed, on the one hand, empirical knowledge and the consideration of the specific situation and, on the other, the thorough philosophical elaboration of the problems, the overcoming of the metaphysical comparison, which is still encountered in literature, of persuasion to compulsion, which at times is regarded as a factor which probably contradicts socialist humanism. The proposals to "humanize" the fight against crime, which are sometimes encountered in the press, are the logical continuation of this approach. Meanwhile, there cannot be two humanisms--one for the criminal, the other for his real or potential victim. Humanism is an attitude toward the working man as the highest value of life, the respect of his personality, the exercise of his constitutional right to

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5. L. Zakharova, "Stable Emotionality," SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 19 August 1979.

the protection of life, liberty, honor and merit. This means that humaneness in the fight against crime is identical to the effectiveness of this fight, including all measures: from prevention to the assurance of the inevitability of the punishment stipulated by the law for a committed antisocial and, consequently, under the conditions of socialism, an antihumane action. Moreover, all the forms of curtailment of antisocial tendencies in behavior: warning and the inevitability of legal responsibility for any violation of the law, persuasion and the prospect of using compulsory measures if it does not help, are important for the education of the masses, especially young people.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee is the realization and, at the same time, the further development of the principle based on a system approach, completeness in the educational activity of the mature socialist society. The success of this activity depends in the end on each component of the system, because the individual as an integrity is also differentiated and the influence on him means the satisfaction of a large group of needs, including the needs for scientific knowledge, information, labor, moral and esthetic self-assertion. And the higher the educational and cultural level of a person is, the broader this group is and the more precise the very needs are. Therefore, to improve education means to systematically increase the level of science, teaching, lecture propaganda, mass information, art and literature. The need for the increase of the educational effectiveness of television broadcasts, the greater diversity of their genres and forms is especially urgent, since the results of sociological research attest to the continuing increase of the role of television in the life of modern man.

At present the organization of leisure and contact and, consequently, the assurance of the maximum yield of the palaces, clubs, libraries, halls and stadiums available in the country are acquiring increasing ideological importance. Sociological research shows that "for example, cultural institutions of the system of the RSFSR Ministry of Culture utilize no more than 10-15 percent of the free time of the population of the RSFSR; 80-85 percent of the meetings of unofficial groups take place at home, on the street and only 15-20 percent take place at cultural institutions. Therefore, at cultural institutions youth groups meet approximately one-fifth as often as at home or on the street. Meanwhile, cultural institutions could, given the appropriate conditions, ensure a considerably higher level of realization of interpersonal contact as compared with group contact at home or on the street."[6]

The main reasons for the formed situation are the monotony and deficiency of the forms of work of these institutions, their orientation mainly toward quantitative indicators, the poor knowledge of the needs and requirements

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6. "Urgent Problems of Increasing the Cultural Level of the Population of the USSR," "Obshchiye problemy kul'tury i kul'turnogo stroitel'stva. Ekspress-informatsiya" /General Problems of Culture and the Building of Culture. Express Information Service/, Issue 1, Moscow, 1979, p 11.

of potential visitors, the lack at many clubs and palaces of culture of the necessary conditions for spending time outside mass measures. In turn the sports facilities also are being used inadequately for the regular participation in sports of all those who want to (and not only people showing promise in sports, prospective recordholders and champions). It is known that the educational significance of sports depends first of all on its mass character, but the mass nature is not determined only by the number of participants in one-time cross-country races, heats or hikes. Many of these shortcomings in the organization of leisure have already been indicated both in scientific literature and in the periodic press. The fact that they are being eliminated very slowly can be regarded as evidence either of the inadequate elaboration of the sociological recommendations in this area or of the imperfection of the mechanism for putting these recommendations into practice. Therefore, the development of sociological research directly in party organizations is of enormous importance both for sociology and for practical educational work. For example, the laboratory for the study of public opinion attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, the materials of which were the bases for a number of important part decisions, have been operating now for several years.[7]

In Stavropol'skiy Kray sociological laboratories on a public basis have been set up in many gorkoms and raykoms of the party. The activity of the laboratories is coordinated and directed by the council for concrete sociological research attached to the kraykom of the CPSU. Responsible officials of the party committees (as a rule, one of the secretaries) head the laboratories. A theoretical methods seminar, at which along with local scholars and practical workers scholars from the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee and members of the editorial collegium of our journal usual speak, is held annually in Stavropol' in order to increase the skills of sociologist-public workers and to share work experience.

In four years representative studies have been made and practical recommendations on the problems of recruiting and placing personnel, the effectiveness of lecture and mass political work, the improvement of the style and methods of work of the party committees and a number of others have been elaborated by the forces of the laboratories.

At present the laboratories are engaged in studying the effectiveness of ideological work (in light of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee) and the role of party committees in the management of the national economy.

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7. On the content of the work of the laboratory see the article of T. M. Dzhafarli, "The Study of Public Opinion Is a Necessary Condition for Making Correct Decisions," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 1, 1978, pp 69-82.

Sociological research is being used with greater and greater effectiveness in the ideological and ideological educational work of the Belorussian Party Organization. Sociological research councils, which unite practical workers, scholars and instructors of higher educational institutions, function in all the oblast committees of the Communist Party of Belorussia. Such topical themes for the improvement of the matter of communist education as "The Improvement of the Control of Social Processes in the Labor Collective," "The Formation of the Needs of the Soviet Man in the Mature Socialist Society," "Public Opinion and the Communist Ideal" and "The Development of the Production and Sociopolitical Activeness of Workers" are the subject of study. In conformity with the decree of the 18th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia of 19 June 1979 sociological groups headed by the staff sociologists are being set up at all the production, scientific production and interfarm associations of the republic, at major enterprises and construction trusts.

Public councils for socio-economic development have been organized in all the kraykoms, obkoms and gorkoms of the party of the Far Eastern Region of the country; the scientific management of their activity is carried out by the research laboratory for the generalization of the experience of party and soviet work of the Khar'kov Higher Party School. In addition to this research center the Publi Institute of Sociological Research attached to the Kamchatskaya Oblast Committee of the CPSU has been operating in the region already for 10 years. The public scientific research laboratory of the problems of communist education attached to the Komsomol'sk-na-Amur Gorkom of the CPSU is also working more and more actively.

These are by no means exceptional cases, but are manifestations of the tendency, which is natural for mature socialism, for the scientific principles of ideological and political educational activity to be consolidated. The party organizations of Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine, all the republics, krays, oblasts, cities and labor collectives of the country are devoting more and more attention to the study of public opinion and to sociological research. Under these circumstances it is difficult to explain the position of some authors, who interpret the aspiration to develop concrete sociological, empirical research or, to use their expression, "the predilection for empiricism," as a kind of catering to bourgeois tastes in science. For example, in the recently published book "Sotsial'no-politicheskiye, ekonomicheskiye i pravovyye problemy sblizheniya dvukh form sotsialisticheskoy sobstvennosti /Sociopolitical, Economic and Legal Problems of the Convergence of the Two Forms of Socialist Ownership/ even the translation in the United States of the sociological study "Zhiznennyye plany molodezhi" /The Life Plans of Young People/, which was published in Sverdlovsk in 1966, is explained by this. Here it is possible to come across assertions which bourgeois propagandists could indeed use in their interests, particularly the ambiguous thesis about some works of "sociologists, who blindly copy the methods and techniques of American empirical sociology and depart from the founding principles of historical materialism and scientific communism."[8]

8. "Sotsial'no-politicheskiye, ekonomicheskiye i pravovyye problemy sblizheniya dvukh form sotsialisticheskoy sobstvennosti," Vol 1, Kishinev, 1979, p 67.

This thoughtless report about Soviet sociologists is passed on to those who for a number of years now have been trying to prove that some suspiciousness and even dislike with respect to sociological research is characteristic of socialist society, since it reflects the real processes of life and, hence, its unsolved questions.

Since there is not even a hint in a single party document of such an attitude, what is more, the need to develop sociological research and to overcome scholastic theorizing in science is emphasized in many of them, theses similar to the one cited above are a real find for foreigners who love to "browbeat" scientificness and adherence to party principles and to demonstrate "the persecution of sociologists" for the use of empirical methods.

In this connection it should be recalled that under socialism science affirms its adherence to party principles not by declarations, but by the thorough study of those problems, the solution of which will promote the further development of socialist society, by the real benefit which it is to our great common cause.

In order to increase even more the practical return of sociological research, it is necessary to solve at least two problems: first, to begin at higher educational institutions the vocational training of sociologists, for the lack of professionalism is fraught with the disorientation of practice; second, to increase the reliability of methods by their more careful development in conformity with present requirements and possibilities.

The questions of standardizing the main sociological indicators and principles of grouping empirical data and of creating standard research programs for the councils and laboratories which operate on a public basis have long been ripe. Unfortunately, the professional sociological centers, and first of all the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, have been devoting unjustifiedly little attention to these questions.

Much in their solution also depends on the USSR Central Statistical Administration, whose activity on regulating social statistics is significantly expediting the process of increasing the theoretical and methodological level of sociological research and, consequently, is increasing the importance of the contribution which Marxist-Leninist sociology can make to the implementation of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 26 April 1979.

The improvement of ideological and political educational work is one of the main directions of the ideological struggle on the international arena, which has now been sharply aggravated. The greater the consciousness of the masses is, the more hopeless the attempts of our ideological opponents are to blacken the achievements of real socialism, to pass off temporary difficulties as "organic defects" of our society and to weaken the labor vigor of the people. These attempts are aimed against the entire socialist community. Accordingly, in order to utilize as effectively as possible the

presently formed favorable conditions for launching an ideological offensive against imperialism and hegemonism, militarism and the reaction, it is also necessary to further develop the international cooperation of Marxist scholars, devoting particular attention to the study of the concrete positive experience of the solution by the fraternal parties of urgent social and ideological problems.

Our country is approaching the 26th CPSU Congress. It will summarize a noteworthy stage, which is saturated with great events, in the life of the first mature socialist society in the world and will outline specific ways of its further development. The results of today's labor of the people who are called upon to implement the historical decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," and, consequently, the effectiveness of the assistance, which the system of communist education will receive from the scientific institutions which are engaged in studies of ideological problems, will be completely revealed in how these plans are implemented, with what effectiveness and when.

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THE POLITICAL STATUS OF PUBLIC OPINION

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/Text/ One of the important laws of mature socialism is the increase of the role of public opinion[1] in the political life of society, in the further expansion and extension of socialist democracy. This tendency received constitutional recognition and substantiation in Article 9 of the Fundamental Law of the USSR, according to which "the constant consideration of public opinion" is one of the aspects of the most important direction of the development of the Soviet political system.

Mature socialism introduces new elements into the functioning and dynamics of public opinion, dictating the great urgency of the scientific solution of the question about its political status.

1. The Political Value of Public Opinion

The enhancement of the guiding and directing role of the CPSU is accompanied by the increase of the importance of the political approach to urgent problems of the development of society. This also applied to public opinion, which in many ways depends on political decisions and in turn influences their elaboration more and more actively.

The degree of involvement of public opinion in political activity reflects the level of development of national democracy and serves as an indicator of the stability and prestige of the political institutions of socialism. The systematic study of public opinion makes it possible to reveal the effect of the main trends which are characteristic of the political consciousness of society and is of great importance for developing the concepts of social development.

The letters of workers, for example, in which "opinions are expressed on many fundamental questions of the life of the party and the state,"[2] are one of the forms of the expression of public opinion. At the 25th CPSU

Congress it was especially noted that "the most important suggestions and opinions are examined by the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee and are taken into account when drafting decrees and laws. Many of them were also used when preparing the materials of this congress."[3] This is the best characterization of the political value of public opinion.[4] Its involvement in the formation and implementation of the political policy of the party and the state is accomplished, in particular, by the national discussion of bills. Such a statement of the question ensues from Lenin's conclusion--"a law is a political measure, a policy."[5] Since a law is nothing other than a codified policy expressed in standard legal language, the national discussion of a bill signifies the participation of public opinion in the making of policy. The political value of public opinion was expressed most completely during the national discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution, which is "not only a legal act, but also a most important political document."[6]

The social communities, which are the immediate bearers and mouthpieces of public opinion, have their own needs and interests, including specific ones. Our democracy "should ensure the expression of the diverse specific interests of various groups of the population, linking and coordinating them with the interests of society as a whole."[7] Like every social institution, public opinion strives to achieve certain social goals, of which needs and interests serve as the source.

The main factor, which forms public opinion, is the system of needs and interests, which in turn governs the system of values and expectations of each social community. Hence it is clear that the public opinion of this community cannot but have its own goal, in which the desired model of the future and the pursued result are anticipated. The nature of the goals governs the choice of the forms of expression of opinions and of the methods of influence on social institutions. Owing to various reasons (for example, insufficient information on the level of the solution of a question) the choice of these forms and methods may be inadequate.

Under the conditions of mature socialism the public opinion of the people is becoming a relatively independent social institution, which realizes not only its goals, but also its responsibility for the preservation of political values. Such a realization of the goals and responsibility considerably increases the possibilities of its effective functioning on the basis of socialist law and communist ideology. The use by public opinion of the dialog with state and public organs is an important method of the promulgation and justification by it of its values and expectations. Precisely such prospects are revealed by the USSR Constitution, in which the national discussion of the most important questions of state life (Article 5), the granting to public organizations in the person of their all-union organs of the right of legislative initiative (Article 113) and the possibility of submitting the drafts of laws for national discussion (Article 114) are stipulated.

The process of the greater and greater realization by citizens, labor collectives and public organizations of their rights, freedoms and duties, the conditions and opportunities for the more complete recognition and expression of public opinion, its influence on social institutions for the purposes of the adequate reflection in the decisions being made of the needs and interests of society, the protection and defense of the political values of socialism takes place at the stage of mature socialism.

One of the indicators of the maturity of public opinion is that state of it, when it in fact reacts not only to individual aspects of the implementation of policy, but also to the quality of policy as a whole, by constantly participating in its making. And in this respect the party assumes certain obligations. "In performing its guiding role, the party does everything necessary so that the working masses could actively influence the making and implementation of state policy, would have a real opportunity to display its initiative."[8]

The goals of the party are elaborated with allowance made for the social goals expressed by public opinion. For example, our party always proceeded and is proceeding from the fact that the assurance of law and order and legality is impossible without the formation of the appropriate public opinion. This was stated distinctly in the CPSU Program.[9] At the same time the party is striving for the proper realization by citizens of diverse social needs and interests, is improving the political education of the people, by seeking the expansion of the group of interests of citizens, the the use by public opinion of political criteria and evaluations and the understanding of the essence of the political values of socialism.

Owing precisely to its political activeness, public opinion is gradually being transformed into a specific element of the political system of socialism, and all other elements of it are the vehicles and mouthpieces of public opinion (the party, trade unions, Komsomol and so on), it is itself relatively autonomous, since it exists in the public consciousness, being its external expression.[10] The interaction of public opinion with the other elements of the indicated system makes it possible not only to accomplish the corresponding expectations of the people, but also to utilize more closely the potentials of state and public organizations. This process is directed by our party and reflects one of the aspects of the developing political culture of socialism.

2. The Evolution of Public Opinion Under the Conditions of Mature Socialism

The change in the role of public opinion under the conditions of mature socialism reflects the process of the improvement of socialist social relations and a change in public consciousness, which now, as the course of the national discussion of the draft of the Constitution showed, is characterized by "the breadth of view and the maturity of opinions."[11] Practice convinces us more and more of the constant increase of the range of opinions and actions of citizens and of the intensification of the process of

the realization by them of their role in political life, which completely conforms to the requirements of the political culture of socialism.

An important characteristic of the changing role of public opinion is its acquisition of the status of a social institution. The legal concretization of the institutional status of public opinion results from its constitutional recognition with all the ensuing organizational and legal consequences. Owing to this it is becoming a center of the democratic relations which formed in the mature socialist society. The historical situation is promoting the increase of the social prestige of public opinion, when it is impossible not to take it into account, and in instances provided for by the law not to yield to it. It can be asserted that public opinion is one of the more important components of socialist democracy.

Under the conditions of mature socialism enormous changes have occurred in the expansion and extension of democracy in all spheres of the life of Soviet society. And this in turn influenced many aspects of the functioning of public opinion. In general it should be noted that not one profound process of democratization can get by without the activization of public opinion. It cannot be otherwise, since the indicated process cannot be developed outside the institutional framework, particularly outside such an institution of democracy as is public opinion, within the competence of which is an extensive group of political and legal questions. And this is evident from the results of a survey on the competence of public opinion[12] (see Table 1).

The functioning of the public opinion of the people as a social institution signifies the action of it as a social authority, that is, an authority which has been endowed with a will and is capable of subordinating to it the subjects of social interaction. It displays and exercises its authority each time that it makes these subjects dependent on its position. A large number of Soviet constitutional norms define and safeguard the mechanism of the influence of public opinion on social institutions and relations.

The institutional evolution of public opinion under the conditions of mature socialism is inevitable. It is directed first of all by the Communist Party, which is interested, first, in the proper allocation of power and, second, in the improvement of the mechanism of self-regulation of society.

The institutional model of public opinion resumes its ability to influence policy making, and not only to respond to some political decisions and actions or others. In essence the system of constitutional norms is aimed at the inclusion of public opinion in the political process. The political, legal and constitutional status of public opinion is defined concretely in latest legislative acts--the Law on Elections to the Supreme Soviet (1978), the Law on the USSR Council of Ministers (1978), the Statute on the Permanent Commissions of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet (1979) and the Regulations of the USSR Supreme Soviet (1979).

Table 1*

Rating of the Importance of the Problems in the Competence of Public Opinion

On what questions should state organs determine and take into account the opinion of the population?	Muscovites			Inhabitants of the Mariyskaya ASSR		
	absolute figures	percent	rank	absolute figures	percent	rank
On all the most important legislative acts	483	33.6	2	164	33.9	1
On the most important political, economic and cultural measures	319	22.2	3	70	14.5	3
On the evaluation of the work of state organs and their executives	274	19.1	4	60	12.4	4
On questions of the appointment, transfer and release of officials	174	12.1	5	29	6.0	5
On questions concerning basic rights and duties	512	35.6	1	135	27.9	2
On other questions	13	0.9	-	2	0.5	-
Clarification of public opinion is unnecessary	99	6.9	-	39	8.1	-
Difficult to answer	186	12.9	-	81	16.8	-

*Each of the respondents could draw attention to several items.

There are a number of factors which governed the change in the role of public opinion in the political system of socialism and which continue to have an effect, since they have not yet exhausted their content.

First of all the factor of social needs and interests, the more complete satisfaction of which entails a change in their system and structure, attracts attention. Public opinion displays a particular sensitivity to these changes. And what is meant are not only economic, but also political, information, moral, legal, cultural, communication and other needs and interests. In expressing them, public opinion directs its efforts toward the more complete utilization of the available opportunities.

The fact that the main aspects of social relations are at the center of the political life of Soviet society also had an influence on the change in the role of public opinion. This means that public opinion should be involved to an even greater extent in party and state policy at all the levels of its making and implementation. This would promote both the intensification of the political competence of public opinion and the increase of the level of the political culture of society. Thus, the factor in question naturally governs the activity of the social institution, for which society experiences a need. This institution promotes the involvement in political relations of more and more citizens, labor collectives and public organizations.

The change in the role of public opinion also resulted from its functioning as an element of the political system. Of course, a dual process is in effect here: on the one hand, for inclusion in the indicated system it should find even greater political competence and, on the other, the constitutional recognition of the status of public opinion affords it new opportunities for functioning. The knowledge, mastery and understanding of legislation are not only an indicator of its penetration into constitutional awareness, but also a stimulant of the development of the political culture of society. In turn, the development of constitutional consciousness and constitutional culture imparts a new quality to the functioning of public opinion in the political system of socialism.

The adequate expression of public needs and interests in enforceable enactments is an enormous achievement and indicator of the democratism of Soviet legislation. The agreement of public opinion with the projects and plans, decisions and actions of state organs is assured on this basis, which is an important argument in favor of socialist democracy. Soviet legislation is being improved with allowance made for the principle of popular consensus (that is, the agreement expressed by public opinion). Incidentally, in domestic political (state and legal) relations public opinion is the main subject of consensus. Its systematic revelation and the promulgation of the degree of its agreement are thereby presumed.[13]

The attention of central republic and local party organs to the scientific analysis of this phenomenon is a factor which promotes a change in the political role of public opinion.[14] The decision of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia (1975) on the creation of the Public Opinion Council and the practice of its work, in which party organs are showing great interest, are significant in this respect.[15] The decision of the plenum of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU (March 1978) on the creation in all raykoms of the CPSU and the party committees of councils for the study of public opinion is of great importance for the further development of public surveys. This decision was motivated by the fact that "the effective management of ideological educational work is possible only on the basis of the regular study of public opinion, the ideological situation, the analysis of economic and party statistics, letters of workers and sociological studies."[16] The organizational improvement

of the entire system of the study of public opinion is of fundamental importance. In this connection the creation in the staff of the CPSU Central Committee (1979) of a public opinion analysis group is noteworthy.[17]

3. Public Opinion and the Goals of Political Guidance

The elaboration of realistic goals of political guidance requires access to the information which is contained in public opinion, since the diverse needs and interests of society are reflected in it. It should be borne in mind that it is a matter of carefully studied public opinion with recorded stable trends. The ad hoc analysis of public opinion can be of some benefit, but it would hardly be correct to direct one's attention only to this information. Political guidance, which solves strategic problems, should include information on public opinion, which has been obtained as a result of long-term analysis, and it is suitable not so much for comprehending specific situations as for perceiving the trends of development of social relations.

Public opinion is also of considerable importance for choosing the means which ensure the achievement of the goals. Here it is first of all important to ensure the adequacy of the means to the goals, since otherwise the distortion of the goals or their loss is possible. The adequacy can be established on the basis of the forecasting study of the consequences of the use of a given means for achieving a given goal. This can be done, having turned to the recorded information on the bearing of public opinion on the corresponding combinations of means and goals.

Social experience is stored in the collective memory of public opinion. Owing to its value-standard nature it is becoming the subject of study for working out the strategy of political guidance. In general it should be noted that the goals of political guidance are valid insofar as they take this experience into account. Only in this way is it possible to take into consideration the attendant consequences of the selection of some means or others for achieving the goals. The increase of the attention of the executives of party and soviet organs not only to the immediate, but also to the distant social consequences of the decisions being made is a characteristic trend of political guidance under the conditions of socialism.

Democratic debate, which takes place under the conditions of publicity and openness, is the mechanism of the elaboration of the goals of political guidance under the conditions of socialism. During the debate the goals and means of achieving them are discussed, the conformity of the goals and means to existing and emerging public needs and to the possibility of meeting them is determined. The debate, being the basis of political decisions and actions, imparts to them a certain moral validity. Precisely this ensures the moral connection between the goals and means, on the one hand, and the decisions and actions, on the other.

The method of persuasion is the method of the democratic debates, during which the goals of political guidance and the means of achieving them are discussed. In substantiating the importance of this method, V. I. Lenin

demanded a quite specific response to the question "are they, the members of the trade unions and the majority of nonparty people, convinced of the need for our new methods, our great tasks of building the economy...."[18] It is possible to judge completely enough the extent to which citizens are convinced of the need for some social programs or others on the basis of the data of a representative survey and the establishment thereby of the position of public opinion. And not only the position, but also its motivation. If we do not have such information, which comes from citizens and in which the voice of the people is heard, it is possible to get an incorrect idea about the degree of persuasion.

The fact that the corresponding information has been disseminated in society in itself does not guarantee agreement with it. That is why it is important to work out a criterion which makes it possible to determine with sufficient reliability the degree of actual persuasion. Such a criterion is inherent in the bearing of public attitude on various projects and plans, decisions and actions, which is revealed by the holding of open and public discussions, the distribution of questionnaires and so on. V. I. Lenin was the initiator of the method of political guidance, which is based on public surveys. He considered necessary first the discussion of the most important questions by party members, and then a vote. The executive body of the party "can really know the /conscious/ /in italics/ opinion of the /entire/ /in italics/ mass of party members and can, consequently, lead not blindly, but can rely on the complete explanation of the question by the mass"[19] only with the observance of this condition. V. I. Lenin took all steps so that the public opinion of the party would be revealed and expressed on a truly democratic basis. In this connection his raising of the question of holding a party referendum is noteworthy.

Lenin's appraisal of the direct survey of party members (that is, a "referendum") is notable for realism. "Why is a survey of /all/ /in italics/ party members or a so-called 'referendum' required? Precisely because the conscious and voluntary participation of each individual worker is necessary for the success of mass actions.... It is impossible to solve all political issues by a survey of all party members, this would be endless, exhausting, fruitless voting. But it is necessary to solve the most important questions and those questions, which are directly connected with /the masses themselves/ /in italics/, for the sake of democratism, not only by the sending of representatives, but also by the survey of all party members."[20] The democratic method of the survey not only was proclaimed, but was also used for "the open and thorough discussion of controversial questions."[21]

V. I. Lenin proceeded from the fact that the corresponding aspects of policy should be solved on the basis of public surveys. He, first, emphasized the political potential of public opinion and, second, demanded its identification and consideration when solving pressing and controversial political problems. Thus, the appeal to public opinion is one of the methods of the political guidance of social processes, which was used extensively earlier by party and soviet organs. Thus, a survey was taken by the People's Commissariat of Agriculture for studying the attitude of the peasant masses

toward pressing land questions and the measures being implemented by the government.[22]

Socialist political guidance takes objectively and critically thinking people as the subjects of the political process. In this connection the formation of public opinion on the scientific basis of Marxism-Leninism is of particular importance. Practice confirms the existence of a relationship between such a formation and the political competence of public opinion. This is explained first of all by the fact that public opinion objectively experiences the need for the ideological comprehension of facts and events, phenomena and processes. Such a need is caused by the nature of communist ideology, which: reinforces the elements of theoretical knowledge, which is necessary for the formation of an informed and competent public opinion; reports the direction of social development, the knowledge of which enables public opinion to be focused on long-range questions and its bearers to foresee the immediate and distant consequences of political decisions and actions.

In trying to increase the political competence of the public opinion of the people, the CPSU is following Lenin's instructions: "The party is the vanguard of the class, and the task is not to reflect the average status of the masses, but to lead the masses,"[23] and at the same time "the vanguard fulfills the tasks of the vanguard only when it is able not to lose contact with the masses being guided."[24] Thus, the effectiveness of the formation of public opinion depends on the link of the party with the masses, on its knowledge of what the people think and what they want, to what values and expectations they give preference. The extent of the knowledge of public opinion is determined by the extent of its value in the political process. The more society is informed about the projects and plans, decisions and actions, for example, of administrative organs, the more they experience the dependence on public opinion.

4. Public Opinion and the Effectiveness of Political Guidance

The process of realizing the political status of public opinion is conducive to the even greater revelation of its potentials in the stimulation of the positive trends which conform to the interests of social progress.

The effectiveness of political guidance depends on a set of factors, including the coordination of the tasks of managing social processes with the requirements of public opinion. V. I. Lenin pointed out that among the people the communists are "a drop in the ocean" and that "we can govern only when we properly express what the people are conscious of."[25] The extent of the achievement of the political goals being pursued by our party and the prestige of political decisions and actions are predetermined by the practical implementation of the sociological law of the dependence of political guidance on the public opinion of the people. By identifying, expressing and defending the public opinion of the people, the party committees increase the opportunities for their own positive influence on social processes. In precisely this manner the orientation toward public opinion is being

confirmed more and more as one of the directions of the prevailing logic of the political guidance of Soviet society.

Political guidance under the conditions of socialism is being carried out more and more on a scientific basis. Revealed with the observance of special sociological requirements, public opinion contains scientific information. V. I. Lenin repeatedly emphasized that only collective experience, only the experience of millions can give "decisive instructions."[26] But the formed and settled public opinion is nothing other than the expression of the collective experience of the given social community. In substantiating the need for the party to conduct an important political campaign--"relying mainly on the experience, the instructions of nonparty people, guided by their instructions, taking into account the representatives of the nonparty proletarian masses," V. I. Lenin emphasized that "we will not obey all the instructions of the masses, for the masses are also susceptible at times... to moods not in the least advanced."[27]

Political guidance always should consistently try to see to it that public opinion expresses its agreement with the decisions and actions of the party and soviet organs. Such is the main aspect of the democratic demand which is made on the political system of socialism. Therefore, the indicated organs, first, try to see to it that the decisions and actions of all social institutions conform to public needs and interests and, second, explain their content, as well as the anticipated results. Such an interest in the state of consensus is an important aspect of the guiding and directing role of the party. At the same time the determination of the degree of consensus belongs to the prerogative of the public opinion itself of the people, which is the supreme sovereign.

The evaluation mechanism of public opinion is formed on the basis of the system of values and standards of each social community, owing to which it approves or condemns facts and events, the projects and plans, decisions and actions of social institutions. The question of the criteria of evaluations is very important, since the perception of politics and ideology, democracy and government, culture and morals, legality and justice is always accompanied by social judgments. For example, the analysis of the regulating role of a law presumes the evaluation of its quality not only by state organs, but also by public opinion. Moreover, the evaluation given by these organs is subject to public evaluation. Thus arises the democratic situation in which the evaluation itself is liable to evaluation ("the evaluation of the evaluation"). Both the real control of public opinion over the subjects of political guidance and the effectiveness of their functioning are ensured precisely under the conditions of a dual evaluation. The requirement of the open and public "evaluation of the evaluation" is one of the important elements of the constitutional concept of mature socialism. Therefore, it is necessary to create the conditions for the consistent realization of this requirement, introducing into the social mechanism a new democratic measurement of the effectiveness of political guidance.

In the process of political guidance the identified and expressed public opinion should be used more and more as a social argument. V. I. Lenin proceeded from the fact that it is impossible to avoid an incorrect decision if "the masses themselves are not surveyed about a controversial question (which concerns the action of the masses)"[28] directly. Thus, V. I. Lenin laid the foundation of the new concept of social reasoning by appealing to public opinion as the sovereign mouthpiece of what the people think and want, what their will and position are on the given question, especially if it is controversial. Indeed, the specific nature of political guidance is such that it is called upon to take into account an entire system of arguments, without confining itself only to logical deductions. The demonstrative force of one political thesis or another is strengthened when it is confirmed, for example, by references to the specific results of a public opinion poll, from which its bearing on the given problem is evident.

The effectiveness of socialist political guidance in many ways is determined by the fact that it has a forecasting substantiation. The latter is also increased by the forecasting potential of public opinion, which contains information about the past, present and future status of a phenomenon which is or can be of political interest. The indicated potential is revealed first of all by systematic surveys of citizens on questions of the future, as a result of which original forecasting hypotheses can be checked. The method of the content analysis of the information received by party committees, editorial offices of newspapers, radio and television from citizens, labor collectives and public organizations, for example, can serve as the goals of the establishment of certain laws and the possibility of extrapolating them. By daily establishing it according to a certain set of indicators, it is possible to find abundant information on the system of values and expectations, on the system of priorities, on the trends inherent in public consciousness. On this basis it is possible to predict the potential attitude of public opinion to the corresponding questions, the content and nature of its reaction, the degree of social agreement with them and so on and so forth.

Public opinion displays a particular interest in problems of the future. In order to satisfy this interest it needs, on the one hand, more and more information and, on the other, the open and public discussion of models of the future and the mechanism of their realization. The point is that political guidance in essence is strategic guidance, since it is called upon to determine the main directions of the development of social processes. Owing to this it should use the forecasting models of the future, which are developed in addition on the basis of the thorough analysis of the state, structure and dynamics of public opinion. Since the public opinion of the Soviet people rests on a system of stable values and expectations, the information on the development of current trends is notable for the necessary stability and reliability. The utilization of such information serves as an important prerequisite of political realism.

Political planning presumes a knowledge of political will,[29] of which the public opinion of the people is an expression. It is hardly possible to

assert a priori that this will is known completely enough always and on all questions, as well as that the will of every social community is known.[30] The rational implementation of political planning is impossible, if public opinion has not been identified, has not been taken into account, has not been measured. Moreover, political planning organs need detailed and differentiated information on the stable position of public opinion on this problem. And the information should reach them in undistorted form.

Given the multiplicity of the needs and interests of society, there always arises the problem of the priority of the development of some aspects or others of the life of society, which should be solved on the basis of the analysis of public opinion. In essence political planning is nothing other than the determination of the system of priorities. Under the conditions of mature socialism opportunities are afforded for the more complete, open and public discussion of the system of priorities as the basis of sociopolitical planning. It is possible to judge this from the data of the above-mentioned survey (see Table 2).

Public opinion also makes its own adjustments in the process of making political decisions. It cannot be otherwise under the conditions of mature socialism. The decision-making centers need information on the state, structure and dynamics of public opinion.[31] Not only information on one question or another, but also information on the reaction of public opinion to political decisions are urgent. "We need to study the public opinion which is created around each of our decisions, around each of our organs,"[32] Candidate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia E. A. Shevardnadze said at the 14th plenum of the republic party organization.

Mature socialism basically overcame the discrepancy between the formal potentials of public opinion and the actual results being achieved by it, which is conducive to the increase of the effectiveness not only of public opinion itself, but also of political guidance. In this connection a new problem of indicators and measurers of the effectiveness of public opinion arises. The qualitative evaluation of the effectiveness of its functioning should be characterized by: the degree of satisfaction of the needs expressed by it; the time which has passed between the promulgation of the remarks and proposals of public opinion and the taking of the necessary steps by the appropriate organs; the extent of the losses of a moral, psychological and economic nature, which arose as a result of not taking steps in accordance with substantiated remarks and proposals of public opinion; the group of institutions which are involved in the solution of the questions which have attracted public attention. These are the most general criteria of the evaluation of the effectiveness of the action of public opinion, since each of them needs differentiation and detailed elaboration. With allowance made for the indicated criteria it is necessary to evaluate the work of state organs and officials.

Table 2

Social Evaluation of Some Political and Legal Priorities*

Which of the listed problems are of the greatest interest to you?	Muscovites			Inhabitants of the Mariyskaya ASSR		
	absolute figures	percent	rank	absolute figures	percent	rank
Observance of the USSR Constitution by state organs, officials and citizens	394	27.4	2	154	31.8	2
Activity of the supreme soviets and local soviets of people's deputies, councils of ministers, ministries and executive committees	137	9.5	7	37	7.5	7
Questions of the identification and utilization of the opinion of the population when elaborating and passing laws	240	16.7	5	54	11.2	5
Public monitoring of the enforcement of laws, ukazes and other legal acts	181	12.6	6	51	10.6	6
Questions of the protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens	352	24.5	3	94	19.4	3
Responsibility of citizens and officials before the law	346	24.1	4	94	19.4	4
Status of the fight against crime	681	47.4	1	221	45.6	1
None of these questions is of interest	21	1.5	-	12	2.5	-
Other questions	17	2.1	-	2	0.5	-
Difficult to answer	159	11.1	-	32	6.6	-

*Each of the respondents could mark several items.

At present the evaluation of the effectiveness of the action of public opinion is being complicated due to the lack of a specific method. The extent of this effectiveness should be deduced from the correlation between the results, which are desirable from the point of view of public opinion, and the actual results achieved by the corresponding organs. It is quite clear that the indicated extent should be established first of all by public opinion and identified by various methods, including surveying. If the extent of deviation between the desirable and actual results is repeatedly confirmed, including by repeated public opinion polls, it is necessary to note the existence of a situation of dissension (disagreement), and competent organs must take the necessary actions to overcome it.

Such are some aspects of the conceptual model of the political status of public opinion under the conditions of mature socialism. A number of hypothetical statements, which were expressed in this article, have to be verified on the basis of empirical research.

FOOTNOTES

1. Public opinion is the evaluation attitude of social communities, which is notable for relative prevalence, intensity and stability and is expressed in their judgments or actions, toward questions which are of interest to them.

2. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" /By the Leninist Course/, Vol 5, Moscow, 1976, p 524.

3. Ibid.

4. And all the same anticommunism, without worrying about proof, continues to develop the thesis about the political incompetence of Soviet public opinion and assets, for example, that "in such a system (meaning the Soviet system--R. S.) public opinion can have an influence on state decisions, but mainly in a sphere less sensitive than policy" (W. Connor, "Opinion in the Soviet Union," "Public Opinion in European Socialist Systems," New York-London, 1977, Chapter 4, p 127).

5. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." /Complete Works/, Vol 30, p 99.

6. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom," Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 377.

7. Ibid., p 634.

8. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom," Vol 2, Moscow, 1973, p 409.

9. "Programma Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" /Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union/, Moscow, 1976, pp 119, 121.

10. Political culture is the level and nature of the political knowledge, evaluations and actions of the subjects of political life, as well as the content and quality of the social values, traditions and norms which regulate the relations in the sphere of the functioning of the mechanism of political power.

11. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom," Vol 6, p 518.

12. In 1976-1977 the Sector of the General Theory and Sociology of Law of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences (V. P. Kazimirchuk, chief) conducted a representative public opinion poll of Muscovites (1,442 people), while in 1978 it conducted jointly with the Chair of the Building of the Soviet State and Law of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee (D. A. Kerimov, chief) the same kind of poll of the urban population of the Mariyskaya ASSR (485 people).

13. The principle of popular consensus, which is used in domestic political relations, by no means contains the requirement of unanimity of all citizens and other subjects of social relations. The specific domestic political (state and legal) nature of this principle consists precisely in this. The adoption of the new Fundamental Law of the USSR marked the putting into effect of a more perfect mechanism of the functioning of the political system of socialism, which ensures the full realization of the principle of popular consensus (see R. A. Safarov, "Public Opinion Under the Conditions of Mature Socialism," KOMMUNIST, No 12, 1977, pp 33, 34, 36).

14. See "The Study of Public Opinion," PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 7, 1977, pp 17-26; V. Legostayev, "The Party Organization and the Formation of Public Opinion," PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 5, 1978, pp 15-27.

15. See ZARYA VOSTOKA, 6 July 1975.

16. MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 1 April 1978. On the experience of the work of the indicated council see MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 1 June 1979.

17. See K. Chernenko, "Work for the People and With the People," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 5, 1979, p 8.

18. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 42, p 141.

19. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 14, pp 254, 255.

20. Ibid., pp 252, 253.

21. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 25, p 409.

22. See S. L. Makarova, "Questionnaire of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture," "Istochnikovedeniye istorii sovetskogo obshchestva" /Source Study of the History of Soviet Society/, Issue II, Moscow, 1968.

23. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 35, p 94.

24. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 45, p 23.

25. Ibid., p 112.

26. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 36, p 380.

27. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 44, pp 122, 123.

28. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 14, p 259.

29. G. Kh. Shakhnazarov believes that the identified and expressed public opinion is "one of the means of the expression of the will of the people or their individual social strata" (G. Kh. Shakhnazarov, "On Some Trends of the Development of the Political System of Socialism," SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No 1, 1978, p 10). The substantiation of the volitional aspect of public opinion is necessary for its adequate evaluation.

30. The poor knowledge by party committees of the attitude of the population toward occurring processes due to "the lack of the thorough scientific study of public opinion in the republic" was noted at the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia (ZARYA VOSTOKA, 1 August 1973).

31. In this case it is possible to confine ourselves to the mass practice of the work of such a political institution as the Central Committee of the republic party oragnization (see T. M. Dzhafarli, "The Study of Public Opinion Is a Necessary Condition for Making the Proper Decisions," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 1, 1978).

    Anticommunism, while ignoring the obvious facts, continues to spread claims of the following type: "Although at present the regimes (communist--R. S.) are more interested in public opinion than in the past, they are now no more inclined than before to take it into account and to be guided by it in those spheres in which the main political decisions are made" (W. D. Connor, "Opinion, Reality and the Communist Political Process," "Public Opinion in European Socialist Systems," New York-London, 1977, Chapter 6, p 181).

32. See ZARYA VOSTOKA, 15 November 1974.

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THE STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION: EXPERIENCE AND PROBLEMS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 23-32

/Article by Boris Konstantinovich Alekseyev, member of the Soviet Sociological Association; Candidate of Psychological Sciences Boris Zusmanovich Doktorov, senior scientific staff member of the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Boris Maksimovich Firsov, chief of a sector of the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ The need for the sociological study of public opinion stems from the interest of the party in expanding the information base and increasing the scientific level of the control of social processes. Under the conditions, when the role of the subjective factor in accelerating the rate of the building of communism is constantly increasing, sociological information on the state, structure and dynamics of public opinion is becoming more and more important for increasing the effectiveness of control.

The knowledge of real life processes in all their complexity and contradictoriness is one of the bases of administrative activity. The accomplishment of the strategic goals of administration requires the systematic scientific analysis of public opinion on the problems of the political, economic, moral and legal mode of life of society.

The urgency of such an analysis is underscored by the peculiarities of the historical period which Soviet society has now entered. "Of course, our party developed long ago quite effective methods of studying public opinion and the results of ideological work. However, at the present time, when the flows of information, including hostile information, have increased considerably, when the intensity of ideological activity has increased, when the level of culture has risen and the nature of the needs of the Soviet people has become more complex, the task arises of conducting special scientific research (day-to-day and basic) on the study of the frame of mind of the masses, the nature of the efforts being undertaken in the sphere of ideology and the success of propaganda actions."[1]

1. "Party Concern About Ideological Personnel," KOMMUNIST, No 15, 1974, p 24.

It is also necessary to emphasize such an aspect of the problem as the influence of public opinion on the development of the initiative and the production and political activeness of the workers and on their more and more complete involvement in the management of the affairs of socialist society. As a supporting institution of the development of socialist democracy, as one of the most important forms of the exercise of the genuine sovereignty of the people public opinion is directly involved in the regulation of social relations and, with the proper and purposeful policy of its formation, expression and use, becomes a motive force of social progress and actively promotes the affirmation of communist fundamentals and principles in the life of our society. The party documents of recent years deductively underscore the growing social significance of public opinion and its democratic and administrative value.

The enhancement of the role of social research and its convergence with the practice of building mature socialism consist in orientating some scientific subdivisions toward the study of questions which belong to the area of the immediate interests of party organs. Such a subdivision was set up in Leningrad. The study of public opinion was the sphere of "cooperation" of the efforts of party organs and sociologists.[2]

In 1969 the CPSU Central Committee adopted the decree "On the State of and Measures to Improve Party Political Information." In the plan of measures of the Leningrad Oblast Party Organization, which was adopted in development of the indicated decree at the plenum of the obkom of the CPSU, the main ways of organizing and obtaining intraparty and political information were specified and, in particular, attention was addressed to the improvement of the quality of information "from the provinces." At times the quality of this information was low; it could not always serve as a basis for reliable assessments of the sentiments of various groups of workers and, what is more, be used for developing effective forms of activity in connection with proposed changes in legislation, new decisions of central organs

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2. In this case it is appropriate to speak about a specific tradition of sociological investigation, the beginning of which was marked by the organization in 1966 of a sociological group (A. G. Zdravomyslov, director) at the Chair of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy of the Leningrad Higher Party School. On the instructions of the oblast committee of the CPSU in 1967-70 this group conducted the first studies of the effectiveness of the work of the rayon party machinery (the study of the budgets of working time) and a series of studies connected with the analysis of the sociopolitical activeness of the workers of Leningrad enterprises. The obtained results were of dual importance. They were used in the activity of the obkom of the CPSU and, moreover, helped to understand many features of the sociological information which was gathered in the direct interests of the party organs. It can be said that 10 years ago a new research direction--the sociology of party work--began to develop in Leningrad.

and so on. The data on the sentiments of the workers and their attitude toward individual, most important events of social and political life did not always represent the opinion of the entire population of Leningrad and the oblast. Another shortcoming was that the comparison of information and, consequently, the identification of trends in the pattern of public opinion over long intervals of time were often impossible.

The plenum of the oblast committee of the CPSU recognized it as expedient to establish a reliable channel for gathering and analyzing the information on the sentiments of the workers; to implement the principle of the planned nature of the receipt of the indicated information on the basis of the specific goals of the guidance of various spheres of life of Leningrad and the oblast; to recruit the scientific forces of the city to work on the gathering and analysis of the information of public opinion. Thus the plenum supported the urgency of a number of serious steps on improving the processes of informing party organs on the sentiments of the workers. Moreover, it was decided to set up a special system in the structure of the Leningrad Party Organization for gathering and processing them, which was based on the consideration of the means of the party organizations and on the enlistment of specialists and scientists.

In early 1971 the designing of the system to study public opinion was entrusted to a group of staff members of the Leningrad sectors of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. At present the implementation of this plan is being carried out by the sector of social problems of the mass media of the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

During the entire period of existence of the sector its staff members have worked in close contact with the corresponding departments of the obkom of the CPSU. The contact of the academic scientific subdivision with the party organs is achieved not only in the joint formulation of the tasks of research, which are dictated by the needs of practice. It is reflected in the constant organizational assistance of the obkom of the CPSU in the conducting of the necessary planning surveys and planned sociological research. The sector carries out the elaboration of the scientific methods and organizational principles of the study of public opinion and implements the research programs developed jointly with the departments of the obkom of the CPSU. At present results have already been obtained on the following themes (the date the study was conducted, the number and composition of the respondents are indicated in parentheses): ways of increasing the sociopolitical activeness of the workers (May 1970, 800, economic, party, Komsomol and trade union executives of enterprises); the effectiveness of the mass propagation of the documents and materials of the 24th CPSU Congress (April 1971, 2,000, and May, 1971, 2,000, the working population of Leningrad); questions of improving the work of journalists of rayon (city) newspapers and newspapers with a wide circulation (October 1973, 500, journalists of Leningrad and the oblast); the prevalence and utilization of the mass media (May 1974, 2,000, the working population of Leningrad); the budget of working and free time of the workers of the machinery of the

raykoms of the CPSU of Leningrad (February 1975, comprehensive survey of the workers of the machinery of the raykoms of the CPSU of Leningrad); the consumption of mass information by the workers of the machinery of the raykoms of the CPSU of Leningrad (March 1975, comprehensive survey of the workers of the machinery of the raykoms of the CPSU of Leningrad); urgent problems of the work of television, radio and newspapers (April 1975, comprehensive survey of the members of the bureau of the raykoms of the CPSU, the chiefs of the departments of the raykoms of the CPSU); the opinion of workers of Leningrad on the implementation of the main socio-economic tasks of the Ninth Five-Year Plan (December 1975, 2,000, the working population of Leningrad); the effectiveness of the mass propagation of the documents and materials of the 25th CPSU Congress (March 1976, 2,000, the working population of Leningrad); the prevalence and utilization of the mass media (May 1976, May 1977, November 1977, 1,500, the population of the cities, settlements and villages of Leningrad Oblast); the attitude of Leningrad workers toward the draft of the USSR Constitution (September 1977, 2,000, the working population of Leningrad); the prevalence and utilization of the mass media (December 1978, February 1979, 1,300, the population of the city); the attitude of the population of Leningrad toward the activity of Leningrad television, radio and newspapers (first quarter of 1979, 800, the population of the city).

The general theoretical idea of these studies was, by relying on the information about public opinion, its structure and dynamics, to determine the criteria, in accordance with which it would be possible to judge the success of the conducting of individual political campaigns, how specific directives and instructions of the party are being implemented, to assess the effectiveness of the participation of party organizations in the solution of the problems of building the economy, culture and the state.

The enumerated studies relied on well-known principles of the theory of Marxism, according to which the spiritual life of society--views, notions, ideas, statements and other phenomena of consciousness--is not something self-sufficing, which is divorced from surrounding reality, but, on the contrary, is inferred from the general and specific conditions and features of the physical activity of people.

The applied content of the studies was determined by the sociological interpretation of the objects and subjects of public opinion under present conditions, which govern its functioning. Regarding public opinion as a topic of sociological study, the researchers proceeded from the notion of the complexity of its internal structure. Here social facts, which affect the interests and needs of the people, were regarded as the objects of public opinion; the limits of the competence of the judgments of the representatives of various social groups in the formation of their attitude toward the mentioned objects were subjected to a special evaluation.

The mass character, the stability of public opinion, the depth and adequacy of its reflection of certain aspects or others of social reality were measured, the degree of discrepancies in the assessments of individual events

and phenomena, which was governed by the status of the bearers (subjects) of the opinion in the social structure of society, was analyzed.

Special attention was devoted to the interdependence of opinion and behavior. The latter, for all the importance of the judgments expressed by people, is the main characteristic of their way of life.

The problems of public opinion polls were totally subordinated to the interests of the party organs and to the need to increase the effectiveness of their work both at the stage of the making of decisions and at the stage of their implementation. Experience shows that when the scientific regulation of the programs, procedures and techniques of public opinion polls is observed, the obtained information can serve as a reliable basis of the activity of party organs on implementing the party political course.

Over a number of recent years there were at the center of attention of the oblast party organization first of all the questions of the perception and assessment by the workers of the documents and materials of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses.

A survey taken on the fifth day after the conclusion of the 25th CPSU Congress (10 March 1976) showed that approximately 21 percent of the respondents had become acquainted in detail with the published materials and documents of the congress, 72 percent had become acquainted with them in general outline and 7 percent had not had time to become acquainted with them. It is especially necessary to speak about the interest of Leningrad workers in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee, which General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade L. I. Brezhnev delivered at the congress. The audience of the direct television relay of the speech of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on 24 February 1976 was more than 80 percent among the working population; the radio audience, with allowance made for the repeat of the text of the report over radio on 25 February 1976, was more than 90 percent. Among the workers of the city, the analysis shows, there was not any large group of people, who had not read newspapers with the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Party Congress or had not become familiar with the content of the report via radio and television.

The public opinion poll made it possible to detect a high level of interest of the respondents in the improvement of the work of the mass media on the further explanation of the documents and materials of the 25th party congress. As the primary task the respondents indicated the need to appeal to the Soviet people to work in a communist manner, to increase social activeness and to observe the standards of communist morality (68 percent). The demand to criticize the shortcomings encountered in our society was in second place (59 percent). Further, another task was emphasized--to form active civic attitudes on the problems of domestic and international life, which were discussed at the 25th CPSU Congress (58 percent). The fourth through seventh places were held respectively by the opinions "to publish the materials which reflect the various opinions on the questions raised

at the congress," "to tell what the workers think about the important problems of domestic and international life," "on controversial questions to give first of all the official viewpoint," "to know what especially interests the workers, and to constantly publish materials on this."

A public opinion poll, which was taken in 1976 in connection with the determination of the public assessment of the content of the program of socio-economic development and the results of its implementation, showed that the overwhelming majority of the respondents (more than 65 percent) had directly perceived the achievements of the country in such decisive spheres of the national economy as science and technology, industry and transportation. The greatest results, in the opinion of the workers, had been achieved in housing construction, public education and the development of culture. It is noteworthy that nearly two-thirds of the respondents indicated the increase of the real income of the population and the improvements in the organization of the recreation of the Soviet people. But here public opinion also noted the areas, the state of affairs in which is still far from satisfying the population of the city. They are, first, the sphere of trade and consumer service and, second, the organization of medical service.

According to the results of the studies, which were made in April-May 1971 and March 1976, it is also possible to conclude that the opinions of the workers on the achieved successes in various spheres of the national economy and in the implementation of the program of social measures are characterized by a great stability of distribution by the objects of the assessments. For example, the successes in the development of science and technology were rated as more impressive than the achievements in the development of medical service and agriculture in both 1971 and 1976.

The analysis shows that the opinions of various groups of respondents on the degree of accomplishment of socio-economic tasks depend on their status in the social structure of society and their demographic characteristics. Workers, for example, rate the situation in all areas of the life of the country without exception more optimistically than employees. The direct involvement of a person in the given system of relations is of great importance; in particular, women rate the achievements in medical service higher than men, people with a higher education are more inclined to optimistic assessments of the situation in the area of science and technology than representatives of other educational groups.

Public opinion also closely correlates with the social expectations of various groups of the population. The problem of social expectations is in essence the problem of the evaluation of the effectiveness of the political, ideological and mass organizational work of party organs. The degree of justification of social expectations serves as an indicator of the realism of socio-economic problems and the basis of many political assessments. By forming valid expectations and taking steps to achieve them, the party organs ensure themselves the necessary political prestige. Public opinion polls make it possible to identify and establish the system and structure of social expectations, thus preventing possible social "tensions."

One of the aspects of social expectations is connected with the achievement of a high level of well-being of the Soviet people. All the public opinion polls of the workers of Leningrad (1971, 1975, 1976) confirmed the optimistic nature of the indicated expectations. But this imposes a deep obligation on the party organizations, placing a certain political responsibility on them.

The population, as a rule, gives a high rating to the current (on the level of society as a whole) conditions for the formation of the new man, the comprehensive development of the individual and the improvement of the socialist way of life. When it comes to the prospects of changing these conditions, the assessments increase (see Table 1)

Table 1

Ratings of the Level of Well-Being of the Soviet People in 1976 and the Prospect of Increasing It by 1980 (N = 2,000)

Factors of well-being	Ratings on a 10-point scale	
	1976	1980
Working conditions	6.3	7.7
Housing and everyday conditions	6.1	7.5
Organization of health care	6.3	7.6
Chances of receiving an education	8.7	9.1
Conditions of the increase of the level of culture	7.9	8.6
Well-being as a whole	6.9	8.0

It is fundamentally important that the discovered trend characterizes each age and educational group, workers and employees, communists and nonparty people, men and women.

Although the evaluations (points), which were assigned by the respondents to certain aspects or others of well-being, are subjective and as such depend on the effect of many variables (first of all the personal well-being and prosperity of the participants in the study, the content of the social expectations of various groups of the population and so on), on the whole they serve as confirmation of the fact of an optimistic perception by the Soviet people of the model of the future.

The self-appraisals of the actual changes, which have occurred in a number of spheres of the personal life of workers and employees during the period of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, as a rule, exceed the individual expectations in the analogous spheres, which were expressed at the beginning of the five-year plan (see Table 2).

The optimistic nature of the attitude of workers and employees is also illustrated by their appraisals of their personal (family) material status. According to the results of a 1976 survey more than half of the respondents (55 percent) expressed the opinion that they were satisfied in principle

with their own personal (family) well-being. People partially satisfied and partially dissatisfied with their material status made up 35 percent. The proportion of those dissatisfied was 10 percent. Under the conditions of the dynamic growth of the needs and the constant increase of the group of demands of the population such results are quite favorable. The bulk of the surveyed workers (approximately 75 percent) do not consider material factors as what first of all complicates life.

Table 2

Social Expectations and Their Realization. Survey of Leningrad Workers (N = 2,000), Percent

Content of social expectations	Expected changes (1971)	Believe that changes have occurred (1975)
Increase of wages	52	62
Improvement of housing conditions	44	42
Improvement of medical service	56	36
Improvement of personal service	47	44
Improvement of operation of urban transportation	49	56
Increase of education	36	68
Increase of participation in management of production, affairs of one's own collective	27	62

The opinions on the material status, which were obtained when conducting the 1976 survey, are supplemented significantly by the expectations of changes in various aspects of life during the current five-year plan. About half of the workers (45 percent) are convinced that during the 10th Five-Year Plan their real income will increase; 35 percent are firmly counting on an improvement of housing conditions (it is noteworthy that the group of workers up to the age of 30 is first of all hoping for this). There is a high level of the expectations which are connected with the improvement of the quantity and quality of industrial goods (57 percent), the increase of the variety of products (43 percent) and favorable changes in health care (42 percent).

One of the important results of public opinion polls is the formation of the "sociological experience" of the population. The extension of the practice of conducting such polls and the increase of the level of their information value presume the determination of the attitude of citizens toward participation in them. A knowledge of the psychology of the perception of polls within the framework of the "sociological experience" gained by the population, in order to evoke and sustain in the public consciousness a positive attitude toward the corresponding practice, is important. The formation of the sociological culture of the population is a problem which needs special examination. The overall assessment by the population

of the state and the possibilities of increasing the level of this culture, which was obtained as a result of one of the polls, revealed the great interest of the workers in the continuous improvement of the activity on the identification, formation and utilization of public opinion. Of the respondents 54 percent consider it mandatory to improve the work of state and public organizations on the examination of the letters and statements of workers and the speeches at meetings; 33 percent consider it desirable and 13 percent do not have an opinion on this; 61, 32 and 7 percent respectively consider it mandatory to inform the population regularly about steps taken according to the results of the study of public opinion; 57, 28 and 15 percent--to establish legal responsibility for a careless attitude toward public opinion; 44, 40 and 16 percent--to enhance the role of newspapers, radio and television in interpreting the activity of organs of authority and administration; 39, 43 and 18 percent--to step up the activity of newspapers, radio and television on expressing public opinion; 53, 35 and 12 percent--to inform the population more extensively about the activity of organs of authority and administration; and, finally, 37 percent consider it mandatory and 43 percent consider it desirable to develop public opinion polls more extensively and 20 percent do not have an opinion on this.

In commenting on the cited data, several circumstances should be singled out.

One of them concerns the system of steps which should be taken to improve the registration of public opinion in our country. Measures which in one way or another affect the treatment by organs of state authority and public organizations of public opinion as a form of the expression of the will and interests of the workers are put in first place (more than 50 percent of the responses are "mandatory"). Here the demand "to inform the population regularly about steps taken according to the results of the study of public opinion" stands out conspicuously. It is expressed with the greatest intensity (93 percent of those who supported the responses "mandatory" and "desirable").

The second circumstance consists in the fact that the conviction of the expedience and urgency of certain measures or others on the improvement of the registration of public opinion characterizes to approximately the same degree the main social and occupational groups of workers. Only those engaged in unskilled labor, who, as a rule, express themselves less specifically than the others and experience difficulty more often in the choice of a definite answer, are an exception to the rule. These facts, apparently, should be explained by the relatively low education and less social activeness as compared with the other participants in the study.

The attitude of different categories of workers to individual measures is characterized in the following manner. Skilled workers supported most decisively the improvement of the work of state and public organizations with the letters and statements of workers and the establishment of legal responsibility for ignoring public opinion (respectively 90 and 88 percent of the responses were "mandatory" and "desirable"). Primarily specialists

with a higher education and the managers of collectives insist on regularly informing the population about steps taken according to the results of the study of public opinion (respectively 96 and 98 percent of the responses are "mandatory" and "desirable").

Skilled workers and the managers of labor collectives stress most actively the need to improve the role of the mass media in expressing and informing on public opinion. The differences of social and occupational groups with respect to other measures, which are put to a "vote," are small. It should be stressed that the detected differentiation is not so significant that it would be possible to speak about a special position of some category of workers or employees. The points of view of men and women, of people belonging to different age and educational groups (with the exception of people with a low educational level, who, as we have already stated, more often evaded a definite answer), and the opinions of communists, Komsomol members and nonparty people differ very negligibly. The coincidence of the attitudes of people makes it possible to think that the views of the representatives of the workers on the ways and means to improve the activity on registering public opinion are notable for a high degree of unanimity. To all appearances, the conditions in society are ripe to improve this activity, to impart to it a nature which conforms to the demands of social development and thus to realize fully one of the principles of the democratic control of society, which is established by the USSR Constitution.

The practice of studying public opinion makes it possible to conclude that the workers as a whole approve of sociological surveys, regard them as one of the possibilities of increasing the scale of their participation in management; they make suggestions on the need to expand the problems of the corresponding studies, believing that questions of labor, daily life, morals, education and other problems should be reflected more and more completely in public opinion polls. The need to ensure the publicity of the results of public opinion polls (first of all by means of the mass media) is recognized as especially urgent. The importance of improving the work which is connected with the use of public opinion in the practice of state and public administration and with the informing of the population on the steps taken on the basis of the data of sociological surveys, is stressed in the statements of workers and employees.

The indicated suggestions conform to the constitutional principles of the sovereignty of the people. In regarding the improvement of the functioning of public opinion as a means of improving socialist democracy, this work should be linked with the steady improvement of the methods and organizational backing of surveys of the public.

The above-cited data were obtained within the framework of the "system for the study of public opinion," which was planned in advance and the methods principles of which were subordinate to the solution of the central problem--the obtaining of reliable data for valid practical conclusions and recommendations which are addressed to party organs. In practice this

involved the selection of 2,000 respondents according to five predetermined attributes: the distribution of the number of workers and employees among the most important sectors of the national economy of Leningrad, of the working population, by social and occupational groups, as well as by sex, age and party affiliation. The lists elaborated by the sector of the occupations and positions (for the 30 most important sectors of the national economy) for the various social and occupational groups taken into account in the theoretical model were an essential element of the planning and organization of the sampling. The status of the sampling was constantly monitored on the basis of data of the Central Statistical Administration and the oblast statistical administration.

The systematic conducting of sociological surveys in certain labor collectives or others is not always feasible. With allowance made for this and the valid need to conduct control surveys, the procedure of studying public opinion included the elaboration of three equivalent sampling lists. Each of them covers 200 enterprises and organizations and fully reflects the sectorial structure of the national economy of Leningrad. The sampling lists also make it possible to conduct representative surveys among the individual strata of workers: skilled workers, engineering and technical personnel, the creative intelligentsia and others.

The study of the public opinion of workers provided for the conducting of studies of three types:

in-depth studies, which involve the study of a set of problems (with a volume of information of up to 10.5 million symbols and outputs of computer printouts a month);

regular studies, which are made for a narrower group of questions (with a volume of information of up to 600,000 symbols and outputs of computer printouts in two weeks);

probes and quick surveys on individual questions (with a volume of information of up to 300,000 symbols and outputs of intermediate computer printouts in 24 hours from the time of the start of the survey).

The processing of the information received, depending on the type of study, was organized in two modes--operational and long-term.

The strategy of the mathematical processing of the data of rapid surveys has been worked out in the greatest detail. By means of the standardization of the methods the procedure of preliminary coding of the primary information has been reduced to a minimum, the possibility of the computer monitoring and correction of the numerical array being fed into the computer is ensured. All the operations on the transmission of the data to the computer center, punching and calculation are performed in conformity with an hourly network schedule. A meaningful processing program is set forth beforehand. A more elaborate mathematical processing within the framework of the long-term analysis is carried out after completing the express stage.

Algorithms of primary data processing, the construction of sociological indices of various types, the calculation of the dependence between attributes, as well as some methods of multivariate statistical analysis are incorporated in the software system.

On the whole, the software system in effect covers a representative part of all the procedures of data processing, which have been mastered by domestic sociology.

In a certain sense a sociological study is a measuring chain consisting of separate links--the stages of the sociological analysis, which are characterized by the specific nature of the conversions which are carried out on the data. The creation of a theoretical model of the social phenomenon being studied is the first link of the measuring chain, then follow numerous operations on the development of measuring tools (questionnaires, instructions which establish the rules of work of data collectors, coders and so on), the stages of the gathering of the data and their processes as such; the measurement ends at the stage of the interpretation of the results of the processing and the formulation of meaningful conclusions. The control of the reliability of the data presumes the need to coordinate all the links of the measuring chain and to identify the most dangerous (in the sense of the occurrence of errors) areas and the finding of means to control interferences of the measurement. Only then will it be possible to speak about the development of a research strategy which governs the "arrival" of researchers at the level of the planned parameters of data quality.

Such a problem is theoretically important and extremely urgent for the development of a service to study public opinion.

As was noted above, the experience of conducting public opinion polls relies most of all on the use of samplings at the place of work. This decreases the reliability of studies, forcing the sociologist to work with a rather rough model of the functioning of public opinion, and raises the question of organizing samplings at the place of residence.

The requirements of the improvement of the functioning of public opinion as a component of the system of control of social processes and a form of the participation of all strata of the population in this control presume, along with the increase of the theoretical methodological and methods level of the corresponding studies, their conversion to an organized basis which conforms to present conditions--the establishment of an all-union public opinion service, which relies on the corresponding regional centers and is aimed in its activity toward:

the elaboration of fundamental interdisciplinary problems of the formation and functioning, identification and expression, recording and utilization of public opinion as a means of social control;

the implementation of long-range research projects which involve the conducting of public opinion polls and the elaboration of predictions of its

dynamics for the purposes of increasing the effectiveness of the control of social processes;

the coordination of the work of scientific research institutions which carry out the study of public opinion in conformity with the tasks being assigned by party and soviet organs.

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DYNAMICS OF THE PUBLIC OPINION OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 33-40

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/Text/ The further increase of the quality and effectiveness of ideological and political educational activity is most closely connected with the sociological study of the dynamics of public opinion.

Public opinion as a specific mode of existence of the public conscience is a factor of education and at the same time an indicator of the effectiveness of ideological work. In turn the level and content of ideological work largely determine its dynamics.

The sociological study of the dynamics of public opinion, which was begun back in the 1920's,[1] but subsequently was not carried out for a long time, needs to be continued.

In domestic literature of recent years greater and greater importance has been attached to this problem, although there are still not enough publications.[2] Applied studies of the dynamics of public opinions and assessments concerning certain events in the life of society are rarely conducted.

To study the dynamics of public opinion means to reveal the main trends, fluctuations, conditions and factors of its expression and development. This process on the operational level is characterized by various states which correspond to certain time parameters. It is possible to distinguish in it the stages of emergence, formation and functioning, which follow each other in sequence, are interconnected and at the same time have relative independence.

The formation of the people's own, personal attitude toward a social phenomenon of interest to them occurs at the first stage. The turning of people to the sources of information, its accumulation under the influence of interest in the object of opinion and, as a result, their elaboration of individual judgments are the empirical attributes of the emergence of public opinion.

The interaction of individual and group judgments and the formation on their basis of general opinions occur at the stage of formation of public opinion. The means of mass information and propaganda also have an influence on this process. The refinement, and frequently the clash of individual opinions, their conflict occur during discussions and the sharing of opinions. Subsequently the different opinions may be united around the main points of view which are backed by the majority of participants in these discussions, which attests to the completion of the process. During the period of formation of public opinion its qualitative and quantitative characteristics, such as its prevalence, direction, intensity and others, are established and undergo development.

The functioning of public opinion as its next dynamic state is at the same time a means of its further formation. A certain stability distinguishes "working" public opinion. It is not as flexible and dynamic as the opinion which is just forming. The interest of people in an object, information about it and their conviction of the correctness of their attitude toward it act as stabilizers of public opinion at the stage of functioning. Such characteristics of public opinion as maturity, competence and effectiveness (activeness) are gradually affirmed and receive active expression at this stage. The formed opinion is embodied in the practical actions of people.

Of course, the indicated states of public opinion empirically might not be expressed equally clearly. Everything depends on the object of opinion, on the sum of the factors forming it, the conditions of manifestation, which determine one or another duration and expressiveness of each dynamic state of public opinion. If, for example, facts or events, the attitude toward which results from a thorough knowledge of them or stable stereotypes of their perception by people, become the objects of appraisals, a rapid reaction of public opinion is observed and a shortening of the intervals between its emergence, formation and functioning occurs. Under certain conditions these intervals are altogether imperceptible.

It is another matter when facts, events or phenomena of social reality, which previously were encountered rarely or not at all, act as the objects of public opinion. They require, as a rule, a certain period of observation of their development, the analysis of the social situation accompanying them and so on. In this case it is possible to establish the periods of the relatively independent existence of each of the dynamic states of public opinion.

Sociopolitical events, which are usually connected with the conducting of certain organizational and ideological measures, the implementation of which

before, during and after a political event is a process that synthesizes various types of social activity: economic, sociopolitical and ideological, belong to this type of phenomena.

It is important to emphasize that political events occupy a special place among the various objects of public opinion. First of all this is explained by the fact that an increase of the intensity of propaganda and the broadening of the scale of ideological educational work, which activate public opinion, are usually connected with such events.

Any political event is a structurally very complex object which is notable for a profound ideological content and great social significance. This is also responsible for the urgency of the sociological measurement of its link with public opinion and of the determination of the "set" of qualitative and quantitative indicators which provide this measurement.

The analysis of the dynamics of public opinion concerning a political event involves the study not only of judgments on this event itself and the content of the official documents, propaganda materials and so on, which accompany it, but also of the opinion of the workers on the problems of the socio-economic, political, moral and cultural development of society, which are actualized during the given period.

Moreover, taking into account the ability of public opinion to act as one of the criteria of the effectiveness of propaganda and ideological educational work, the scientific appraisal of one or another state of it in each case makes it possible to see more clearly the results of ideological measures and to evaluate the effect of the entire set of means, forms, and methods of propagandistic influence, which are being used in this case.

And, finally, the study of public opinion in connection with political events and the accumulation of the corresponding sociological information, which characterizes its dynamics, are of not only theoretical, but also great practical importance. The results of such studies make it possible to make the necessary changes in due time and validly in the organization of ideological educational work both during the days of the political event itself and after it has occurred, to provide a constant flow of fresh information about the attitude of the people toward this event and the materials reflecting its content and to detect the dynamics of their judgments, assessments and sentiments. On this basis it is possible to plan more precisely the interaction of various forms, methods and means of ideological work during the period of subsequent political actions.

The stated general principles were the methodological basis for the sociological study made in April-May 1978 of the dynamics of the public opinion of young people in connection with the holding of the 18th Komsomol Congress--during the preparation for it, during the days of its work and during the period after its conclusion.

The judgments and appraisals of Komsomol members and non-Komsomol youth, who represent various social-occupational and sociodemographic groups of a number of industrial enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, scientific research institutes, state institutions, creative organizations, higher educational institutions and schools of various regions of our country, acted as the object of the study.[3]

Although the attitude toward the event itself is not always equal to the information which throws light on it, it can be presumed that the arising public opinion about an event changes over to the state of its active formation under the influence of purposeful ideological pressure during that interval of time, when the attention of people toward the given event is displayed to the utmost. In order to plan and forecast the operation of the means of mass information and propaganda and to evaluate the effectiveness of their activity it is important to determine the time boundaries of this period. This is done by measuring the states of public opinion.

The formation of the opinions of young people on the 18th Komsomol Congress began with the stage of the intensive accumulation of information about the forthcoming event, the volume of which during the congress itself reached its "peak," and subsequently entered the stage of selective decrease to the level, which is necessary for the stabilization of public opinion and which is capable of constituting the basis of its functioning. Thus, on 4 April 82.9 percent of the young people had turned to the materials of the press on the preparation for the congress, on 28 April 90.5 percent of the young people had familiarized themselves with the materials on the work of the congress. On 30 May 84.7 percent of the young people had turned to the materials on the implementation of the decrees of the congress.

Prior to 22 April the proportion of young people, who were turning to the materials on the preparation for the congress, was less than the proportion of those regularly reading the press (on 4 April by 6.5 percent). Approximately three days before the start of the work of the congress these proportions coincided (89.4 percent). And with the approach of the congress the interest of young people in the materials on it increased: on the fourth day of its work (28 April) the contingent of those who were interested in the course of the congress (90.5 percent) exceeded the average number of regular readers of the youth press. The interval of "increased interest" in the materials on the congress was approximately 16 days. A gradual decline began on approximately 8 May; by 30 May the number of thoses interested in the materials on the course of fulfillment of the congress decisions was already 5.8 percent less than the total number of readers. Thus, from the point of view of the maximum effectiveness of the functioning of the means of propaganda in connection with such events as the 18th Komsomol Congress, the time intervals: 3-5 days before the start of its work and the next 12-14 days, were the optimum.

During the period of emergence of public opinion a greater selectiveness of young people toward the consumed information and primary orientation toward the materials on the object of appraisal are observed.

As the data of the conducted study show, the traditional gradation of the mass media according to the frequency of appeal to them (the press - television - radio) is also maintained on the whole during periods of a political event. It is so stable that if some reorientation does occur, it is mainly due to a decrease of attention to radio broadcasts and an increase of attention to newpaper materials. However, the pattern of information of young people about a political event changes by means of the involvement of new, "secondary" means of propaganda: political information sessions, lectures, meetings, classes in the system of political and economic education. Whereas the press, radio and television as sources of day-to-day and widely accessible information promote the emergence and formation of public opinion by directing people's attention to the appraisal of a political event, the secondary sources fulfill the functions of the clarification and reinforcement of the primary information and the exchange of individual and group opinions on this event. In this case, as the study showed, they promoted the purposeful formation and strengthening of the public opinion of young people on the 18th Komsomol Congress and the decisions adopted by it.

The results of the first survey showed that three weeks prior to the 18th Komsomol Congress the active gathering of information was under way: 91.3 percent of the Komsomol members and young people had with a different degree of depth become familiar with the materials on the course of the preparation for it. And 35.3 percent of the young people surveyed turned to these materials daily. As sources of the corresponding information about 83 percent of the young people used newspapers (mainly KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA--73.2 percent, as well as republic, oblast and city Komsomol newspapers--34.2 percent), 76 percent used television and 72 percent used radio.[4] About 50 percent of those surveyed had become acquainted with the preparation for the congress at Komsomol meetings, 42 percent--from political information sessions, lectures and reports. It is important to emphasize that 82 percent of the young people stated that they were awaiting with interest the start of the Komsomol Congress and were planning to follow regularly the course of its work and the materials.

However, the frequency of appeal to sources of information is more an external attribute of the emergence of public opinion. In order to ascertain the depth of perception of the information it is necessary to measure the degree of interest of young people toward the materials of the congress. In processing the results of the survey three degrees of the display of interest were distinguished: high, average and low.[5]

Approximately a month before the congress an average degree of interest in the materials on its preparation predominated, while during this event itself a high degree predominated. Here the proportion of young people with great interest was "supplemented" mainly through young people who had displayed an average interest before the start of the congress. The number of boys and girls with a low interest virtually remained the same.

The completeness and quality of the information are of considerable importance for the process of the emergence of public opinion. And, as the

results of the survey show, these factors are perceived and rated ambiguously by young people: 65.1 percent of those surveyed expressed satisfaction with the completeness of the materials which reflected the preparation for the congress, while 54.6 percent expressed satisfaction with the quality. It should be emphasized that the judgments of the young people who are satisfied with the coverage of this event are notable for great unanimity and stability and are less susceptible to situational changes than those of the young people not satisfied with it (19 percent of the number of respondents). This is largely connected with the fact that public opinion about a political event is formed under the influence of not only objective, but also subjective factors, since each person at the moment of some event already has a certain system of views, which predetermines his attitude toward it.

When the assessment of an event by young people coincides with its coverage by the mass media, a stabilization, and then a consolidation of the individual and groups opinions occur. The discrepancy of the noted aspects can lead to some "polarization" of the individual and group judgments, which makes the formation of public opinion difficult. In this case additional propaganda efforts are needed for its formation. The results of our study attest that the emergence and formation of the public opinion of young people during the period of the preparation and holding of the 18th Komsomol Congress occurred mainly in the direction of the first trend. The first survey already revealed the unanimity of the majority of young people with respect to the forthcoming event. Subsequently this became the basis for the expression and functioning of their general opinion.

At the same time the sociological observation of the dynamics of the judgments of young people showed that their assessments of the same problems of the activity of Komsomol at different stages of the realization of a political event (before and after it) may be liable to changes.

Thus, whereas up to 59 percent of the respondents indicated the importance of the enlistment by Komsomol of all boys and girls in active involvement in the sociopolitical life of the collective and in socialist competition at the time of the preparation for the congress, after the 18th Komsomol Congress only 21.4 percent so indicated. There apparently showed here the different degree of actualization of the indicated questions in the consciousness of Komsomol members and young people before and after the 18th Komsomol Congress. The high rating of their importance on the eve of the congress unquestionably attests to the efficient activity of Komsomol organizations in this direction and to the purposeful influence of the means of mass information and propaganda, the dynamics can be explained both by the nature decrease of the scale of their reflection in ideological work and by the psychological adaptation of the audience of the means of mass information and propaganda to the forms of their coverage. Taking precisely this possibility of adaptation into account, more attention should apparently be devoted to when, at what time and how is it feasible to step up educational and propaganda efforts. Apparently, they should be distributed so that after a significant event, especially during the start of

the practical realization of the advanced tasks, the overriding issues of the activity of public organizations would continue to occupy a dominant position in the consciousness of people and in public opinion. This would increase the effectiveness of ideological work.

In particular, the effective changeover of the mass media to the promotion of the urgent problems advanced by the congress would make it possible to "shift" the consciousness of boys and girls in a natural way from the questions and problems of the precongress period to that group of problems which were set down in the decisions of the congress which was held.

The attitude of young people toward certain aspects or others of political life during different periods of time is influenced by many factors, first of all the connection of specific problems with the interests of one category of them or another, with the content of the work of the primary Komsomol organizations and so on.

The satisfaction with life, which is responsible for a greater interest in the materials on the work of Komsomol organizations, has a considerable influence on the attitude of young people toward various events (Table 1).

Table 1

Life Situation of Respondents and the Differentiation of Their Attitude Toward the Materials Reflecting the Course of Fulfillment of the Decisions of the 18th Komsomol Congress, Percent

Interest in materials which reflect the work of Komsomol organizations of the country on the fulfillment of the decisions of the 18th Komsomol Congress	Proportion of the respondents whose life situation, in their opinion, is forming:				
	entirely well	quite well	not as well as would be wished	very poorly	"hard to say"
Great	46.0	28.6	19.5	14.7	23.5
Definite	35.5	50.4	51.8	40.5	34.7
Negligible	8.3	10.5	15.2	19.0	13.1
None	2.5	2.6	4.5	9.5	5.8
No response	7.7	7.9	9.0	16.3	22.9

One of the main conditions of the formation of a public opinion on a political event is its collective discussion. The intensity of the discussion, as a rule, depends on the competence, the expertness for the individual of the group of the contact. The results of the survey attest that the formation of the judgments and appraisals of young people on a political event takes place first of all in the labor (academic) collective. It is here that the most intensive and meaningful exchange of opinions occurs (Table 2).

Table 2

Exchange of Opinions Among Different Categories of Young People on the Results of the Work of the 18th Komsomol Congress, Percent

Exchange of opinions on the results of the work of the 18th Komsomol Congress	Groups of young people						
	Working	Rural	Students	Students of vocational and technical schools	School students	Scientific	Creative
In the family	14.0	19.5	17.5	11.0	23.4	12.5	8.0
With friends at work (school)	69.2	72.5	66.1	64.9	47.9	56.0	50.0
With friends at place of residence	7.4	14.1	11.1	6.8	7.2	6.4	13.2
Discuss them with practically no one	13.9	5.4	15.9	11.0	23.4	24.8	18.4
Find it hard to answer	7.0	6.3	8.8	11.0	13.2	12.8	14.9

The public opinion of the labor collective is the most important sociopsychological regulating factor, which is capable of influencing the formation of values, the behavior and actions of the individual first of all by means of moral control. The ability of the labor collective to influence the behavior of its members is a consequence of the ability inherent in it to create a favorable sociopsychological climate, relying on the collective opinion and the similarity of appraisals and standard notions.

Public opinion is formed not only concerning a political event itself as a fait accompli, but also on the basis of the notions about the content of the decisions connected with it. It is in the activity of the masses on the implementation of the decisions worked out during a political event that its effectiveness, its practical force and importance are in the end revealed.

In a speech at the 18th Komsomol Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev especially emphasized the importance of the drive for efficiency and quality, which has been launched extensively in our country, and, appealing to the young people, in particular, said: "You have promoted the slogan: 'The enthusiasm and creativity of young people for the five-year plan of efficiency and quality!' This is a good, correct slogan. It is a matter of Komsomol honor to see to it that it is embodied daily by all young workers, kolkhoz farmers, technicians and engineers."[6]

Since this is one of the main provisions of the program of activity of young people for a long period, which was worked out by the 18th Komsomol Congress, it seemed important to clarify what, in the opinion of young people, are the main ways and forms of its implementation. The point of view of those surveyed on this question is reflected in Table 3.[7]

Table 3

Opinion of Various Categories of Young People on the Ways of Increasing the Efficiency and Quality of Work, Percent

On what does the further increase of the efficiency and quality of work depend	Groups of young people						
	Working	Rural	Students	Students of vocational and technical schools	Students of schools	Scientific	Creative
Conscientious attitude toward the matter	17.9	13.0	15.4	21.6	10.0	13.0	55.6
Increase of the level of organization of labor and socialist competition	20.5	24.4	10.4	33.3	6.0	20.4	--
Increase of consciousness	24.0	20.5	28.8	--	24.0	37.0	28.9
Improvement of labor (academic) discipline	5.3	12.0	1.9	5.9	--	7.4	2.2
Solidarity of the collective	3.7	4.5	10.9	9.8	4.0	3.7	--
Responsibility of each Komsomol member	15.5	19.5	21.8	29.4	46.0	11.1	11.1
Personal interest	13.1	6.1	10.8	--	10.0	7.4	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In the opinion of young people, the ways of improving the efficiency and quality of work are quite diverse. It is noteworthy that practically all categories of boys and girls link the accomplishment of this task with the increase of the consciousness of the people and the improvement of the level of the organization of labor and socialist competition. At the same time a slight difference in approaches to the solution of this problem comes to light among the different categories of respondents. Creative young people, for example, direct particular attention to a conscientious attitude toward the assigned matter, the students of schools attach great importance to the increase of the personal responsibility of each Komsomol member. In turn,

working young people indicated to a greater extent than the others the factor of personal interest. The detected differentiation of opinion on this question among the different categories is quite understandable and can be explained, in particular, by the different content and nature of labor activity. On the whole a quite correct and complete idea about the ways of improving the efficiency and quality of work has formed in the public opinion of Soviet young people. This is a good basis for the further solution of one of the central tasks set by the party for Komsomol members and young people, for all the Soviet people.

We have dwelled only on some results of the sociological study of the dynamics of the public opinion of young people in connection with the preparation for and holding of the 18th Komsomol Congress. They can be used in elaborating measures on increasing the effectiveness of ideological work.

The study of the interrelation between public opinion and a political event and of their dynamics makes it possible to judge the effectiveness of certain means or others of propaganda, the forms and methods of ideological education, which are used by public organizations at various stages of a political event. In the end there arises the question of the most rational forms of the organization and conducting of mass sociopolitical campaigns, which are connected with important events in life. Since a political event and the propaganda campaign connected with it and all ideological educational work can act as a source of the active functioning of public opinion only during a specific period of it, it is expedient to provide for special steps to lengthen this interval, following the model of the dynamics of public opinion, which was examined in this article.

FOOTNOTES

1. See V. Kuz'michev, "Organizatsiya obshchestvennogo mneniya" /The Organization of Public Opinion/, Moscow-Leningrad, 1929, p 62.

2. See, for example: V. S. Korobeynikov, "On the Dynamics of Public Opinion," "Sotsiologicheskiye problemy obshchestvennogo mneniya i deyatel'nosti sredstv massovoy informatsii" /Sociological Problems of Public Opinion and the Activity of the Mass Media/, Moscow, 1976; R. A. Safarov, "The Problems of Studying Public Opinion," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 1, 1977.

3. The study (survey by questionnaire) was conducted by a group of scientific staff members of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee and the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee under the direction of the authors in the Georgian, Kazakh, Moldavian, Ukrainian and Estonian union republics, in the city of Leningrad, in Kaluzhskaya, Saratovskaya and Chelyabinskaya oblasts and Primorskiy Kray and covered 10,558 people up to the age of 30. Here young people of industrial enterprises made up 33.5 percent of those surveyed, rural young people--

20.5 percent, students--16.2 percent, students of vocational and technical schools (first year of study)--7.8 percent, students of secondary schools (ninth grade)--6.7 percent, young scientists (staff members of scientific research institutes)--9.1 percent, creative people--4.4 percent, other categories--2.8 percent. The sample was of a typological nature (the objects of the study were selected on the basis of the opinions of experts as typical for the region) with a thorough survey of the respondents in primary collectives (brigades, departments, academic groups and so forth). On the basis of the main goal the study was conducted in three stages (three reinterviews): at stage I 4,015 people were surveyed, at stage II--3,388, at stage III--3,155. The time intervals of the study were 4 April, 28 April and 30 May 1978 (the 18th Komsomol Congress was held on 25-29 April 1978).

4. Some young people used several sources of information simultaneously.

5. In the questionnaire the positions of the question corresponded to a ranking scale, which includes the three above-mentioned levels.

6. L. I. Brezhnev, "Aktual'nyye voprosy ideologicheskoy raboty KPSS" /Urgent Problems of CPSU Ideological Work/, Vol 2, Moscow, 1978, p 563.

7. The question was open, so the distributions of the answers, which have been reduced to the seven most common opinions, are given in the table.

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THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

V. I. LENIN AS AN INVESTIGATOR OF SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND THEIR ROLE IN POLITICS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 41-50

/Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor Boris Iosifovich Koval', deputy director of the International Workers' Movement Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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CHILDREN IN THE COUNTRY OF MATURE SOCIALISM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 51-62

/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Fridrikh Rafailovich Filippov, chief of a department of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ The United Nations declared 1979 the International Year of the Child. In this connection, along with literary and journalistic materials, many scientific articles on the problems of childhood have been published, which is quite natural: children are an object of special concern of society. Many disciplines--demography and statistics, pedagogy and psychology, history and ethnography, sociology and philosophy--study the social problems of childhood alone. And the most urgent problems often arise at the meeting point of these disciplines and require comprehensive study.

The concept "childhood" has a concrete historical content. This pertains not only to age characteristics, but also to the entire broad social context connected with the concept. So far the capitalist exploitation of child labor has not become the historical past, mass hunger and diseases of children, early childhood mortality and many other truly tragic social features of childhood have not disappeared on earth. But in the present world there is also another childhood--the raising and training of children, which is completely backed by socialist society, the reliable protection of their health, a bright and truly happy life in the country of mature socialism. State statistics and the results of sociological research provide extensive concrete material, which makes it possible to examine from different directions the social status of young Soviet citizens and to trace the dynamics of a number of social processes, which directly or indirectly affect children. At the same time quite complex problems also come into view.

In order to further develop sociological research in this area it is necessary first of all to solve the problem of the age boundaries of childhood under the conditions of mature socialism. If we rule out the period of infancy, especially early infancy (which, incidentally, while not being the subject of direct sociological analysis, is especially interesting for psychologists and representatives of several other disciplines), the "lower" boundary can be assigned to 2-3 years of age, when the child is first

included in the collective of ccevals at nurseries and kindergartens (a comparatively small portion of the children are raised at preschool institutions of the country at the age of 1 to 2). However, this boundary is quite arbitrary: it will fluctuate depending on the differences in the way of life of the urban and rural population (including the differences in the provision of nurseries and kirdergartens), in the sociocultural conditions of the families of workers of primarily physical and primarily mental labor and so on.

In turn the "upper" age boundary of children is determined by the fact that at age 14 a person can be admitted to Komsomol, at age 16 receives a passport and at age 18 acquires full legal capacity.

State statistics establish the upper age boundary of childhood--16 years of age[1]--but do not specify the lower boundary at all. This is convenient for the gathering and processing of statistical data, but does not have, in our opinion, sufficient sociological grounds.

On the sociological level, apparently, it would be more advisable to specify the "upper" boundary of childhood age, linking it with the completion of the basic compulsory general education and the transition to the stage of vocational education. With such an approach this boundry will fall to the age of 15 for those enrolling in vocational educational institutions of various levels after graduating from the eighth grade and to the age of 17 for those who continue to study at the general educational school until graduation from the 10th grade. However, with this approach one of the main principles of any classification is violated: universality. Along with the impossibility of determining the common upper age boundary of childhood for the entire generation, this approach is fraught with the excessive prolongation--first of all in sociological knowledge--of the transition from childhood to youth. Being projected on pedagogical practice and the process of the formation of the self-consciousness of the young generation, it can evoke (and, in fact, often does evoke) the psychology of infantilism among some school children who are studying in the upper grades, are quite capable of labor and social responsibility, but continue to consider themselves "children."

For these reasons it is more correct to proceed from the common "upper" boundary of childhood, linking it with the completion of the first stage of general education, which is identical for all students--the completion of the eighth grade. Taking the age of 15 as the conclusion of the period of childhood, we thereby also encompass adolescents by the concept "children." But such an extension of the coverage of this concept does not distort its content.

At the same time the distinction of groups of children, which differ not only according to age, but also according to the steps of the educational and training "ladder": preschoolers, young school children, students of the fourth through eighth grades--as is customary in state statistics--is possible. When solving the problem in question such an objective trait as

the direct relationship of children with one or another socio-territorial community--the urban or rural population--should also be taken into account. This makes it possible to reflect the differences between urban and rural school children, for example, in the sociology of education. In the studies of the social structure of Soviet society, including the social migrations of the "second generation," children are assigned, as a rule, to the classes and strata, to which their parents belong. At the same time the study of intergeneration migrations, of which "grown-up children" are the subjects, requires the consideration of the growing social heterogeneity of families. For these reasons the children from families of different types--homogeneous families (including workers, kolkhoz farmers, the intelligentsia) and heterogeneous families--are often reorganized into special groups.

Thus, the concept "children" is complex and polystructural. The principles and criteria of its structuring require further elaboration and substantiation.

The average number of births in the USSR during 1965-1977 is about 4.4 million a year.[2] If we assume that this indicator also remained relatively unchanged in 1978-1979, given the age boundaries which we proposed above, the total number of children in the USSR is now approximately 61.1 million, or 23.5 percent of the total population (within the age boundaries which state statistics uses it would be correspondingly about 70 million, or 27.1 percent of the population). Consequently, children account for approximately one-fourth of the total size of the population of our country.

The mature socialist society affords all children extensive opportunities to develop their abilities. The new USSR Constitution established a universal compulsory secondary education, the obligation of vocational guidance of children is set down in it legislatively. The network of children's preschool institutions and the system of vocational education of young people are being rapidly expanded. All this is conducive to the movement of our society to complete social homogeneity. At the same time there are certain differences between the city and the countryside, between the families of workers of primarily physical and primarily mental labor, which have an influence on the quality of the education and training of children, on the forms and degree of development of their aptitudes, interests and abilities.

Some differences already come to light from such an indicator as the number of children in the family. According to the data of a sample survey of 310,000 families of workers, employees and kolkhoz farmers, which was conducted by the USSR Central Statistical Administration in September 1978, 61.5 percent of the families of workers and employees, who live in cities, have one child, while in rural areas 44.2 percent of the families of workers and employees and 37.9 percent of the families of kolkhoz farmers are of this type. At the same time the families of urban workers and employees with three children constitute 4.7 percent, while those of rural workers and employees constitute 11.7 percent; with four children--respectively 1.4 and 5.3 percent; with five or more children--1.0 and 5.7 percent. Among the

families of kolkhoz farmers 14.6 percent have three children, 7.6 percent have four children and 9.7 percent have five or more children. Only the families having two children constitute approximately the same proportion in all groups--about one-third.[3]

Such differences stem first of all from the features of the way of life of the urban and rural population, which have a direct influence on demographic processes. At the same time the family with one or two children is becoming more and more typical among all the social groups of the population both in the city and in the countryside.

The question of the optimum number of children in the family for the present remains debatable and inadequately studied.

We should also not forget the differences in the "quality" of the generation, including its physical and mental abilities, which largely depend on the state of the protection of the health of children in the city and the countryside, on the peculiarities of the mode of life of the family (some of them, for example, drunkenness and alcoholism, have a destructive influence on children) and a number of other factors.

In recent times many authors have devoted attention to the problem of preventing the birth of mentally retarded and physically handicapped children. As A. G. Kharchev and M. S. Matskovskiy point out, our society "is responsible not only for the care of those who cannot care for themselves, but also for ensuring the maximum social and moral efficiency of the birth rate."[4]

Mature socialism cannot automatically provide a solution to all the questions connected with the birth and raising of children: it creates for this the necessary favorable opportunities, the degree of realization of which remains to a certain extent the "internal affair" of each family. Socialist society does not aspire to any compulsory regulation of the family rearing of children. It is a matter only of that level of the material well-being and culture of each family, of that organization of its life, which would provide the most favorable conditions for the physical, mental and moral development of children. In this, in particular, lies one of the fundamental differences of the Marxist-Leninist approach to questions of family rearing from the inhuman Maoist aims.

Soviet society displays profound humane principles in the approach to the family rearing of children, which is attested, for example, by the following data. In 1978 2.3 million mothers in the USSR received a monthly grant for the fourth and each subsequent child. The grants for pregnancy and birth, as well as for acquiring items to care for the child and feed him, which were paid to mothers in 1977, were about 1.4 billion rubles, that is, 24.5-fold more than in 1940. During the same year mothers with many children and single mothers were paid grants in the amount of 355 million rubles (3.2-fold more than in 1940), while the grants to needy families, which were

introduced in 1975, increased in 1977 to 877 million rubles.[5] In addition to the mentioned expenditures from the state budget in 1977 the payments for the same purposes from the centralized union funds of social security and social insurance of kolkhoz farmers totaled 480 million rubles.[6] It should be taken into account that these grants were a supplement to the income, which has increased manyfold, of the families of workers, employees and kolkhozes, which are received both as wages and other payments and benefits and from the private plot.

The considerable improvement of the material well-being of the Soviet family, including housing conditions, and the increase of the level of personal service of the population have sharply changed the conditions of the family raising of children. Here an appreciable convergence of the levels of the income of the urban and rural population, workers, employees and kolkhoz farmers has occurred. Thus, the real income of workers and employees per working person in 1978 as compared with 1940 increased nearly fourfold, of kolkhoz famers--6.5-fold. The real income of kolkhoz farmers with respect to the real income of workers and employees per family member increased from 75 percent in 1965 to 88 percent in 1978.[7]

At present the state expenditures per student at general educational schools are about 180 rubles a year. More than 500 rubles are spent annually on the care of one child at nurseries, while more than 450 rubles are spent at kindergartens, and 80 percent of these amounts are paid by the state.[8] The free provision of textbooks to pupils of the first grades of schools was introduced on 1 September 1978, and later this measure will gradually be extended to the remaining school children.

But it is a matter not only of these expenditures of socialist society. The rapid development of a uniform state system of preschool training, public education and the vocational training of young people is one of the most important social achievements of our system. Being combined more and more integrally with the family rearing of children, this system on the whole accomplishes the preparation of children for life and labor, their mental, moral and physical training in the spirit of the ideals of socialism and communism.

Under the conditions of mature socialism the objective basis has been created for the fundamental uniformity of the social functions of the school and the family in the raising of children. The situation, which is characteristic of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, when the school as the vehicle of advanced, socialist public functions was opposed to the petty bourgeois world of a considerable share of the families, when at times there occurred an open clash of the irreconcilably opposed aims of the school and the family, which was one of the manifestations of the class strong, receded long ago into the past. The complete elimination of class antagonisms, the formation of the socialist way of life of all the workers of the country, the change of the social appearance of our society, the increasing convergence of the classes and social groups making it up, mass social migrations, the increase of the number of socially heterogeneous

families and the increase of the culture and education of the Soviet people gave rise to the qualitatively new interaction of the educational system and the family. However, this has not yet led to the complete elimination of the differences in the social and spiritual makeup of families, in the level of their moral development, which often evokes a number of complex clashes in the interrelations of educational institutions and the family. As G. G. Kvasov correctly notes, "if we turned to the life situations on the level of microgroups, individual collectives, families and individuals, we would encounter, although extremely rarely, residual elements of the former social and ideological antagonisms, manifestations of moral rebirth in the spirit of petty bourgeois morals and psychology."[9]

The educational system in the mature socialist society, in exercising social control over the formation of the personality and the management of this process in children, is called upon at the same time to justify the expectations of the family, which have been placed on it, with respect to the development of the abilities of children as a prerequisite of their future. These expectations are manifested not only as some "wishes" or others of parents, which are addressed to the kindergarten, the school and so on, but also as concrete decisions and actions, which determine--at times for long years--the advancement of children through the stages of education. Of course, the children do not remain here a passive aspect. However, owing to material, spiritual or some other dependence on parents, children cannot act in all specific situations from absolutely independent positions. Therefore the authoritarian decisions of parents are often final and irrevocable. As a rule, they are dictated by concern about the future fate of their children. But parents cannot completely abstract themselves from the thoughts about their own future, including the aspiration "to repeat themselves in their children." This affects the attitude of parents toward the system of preschool training, the interrelations of the family and the school and the active role which parents play in the choice by their children of the specific form of vocational education.

Recent sociological studies have clearly identified a close relationship between the social status of parents, the level of their education, the nature and content of labor, the income of the family and the attitude of parents toward children's preschool institutions, the degree of readiness of children for school, their academic success, the social and occupational orientation of school graduates.

Permanent preschool institutions (excluding summer playgrounds) encompassed in 1978 13.3 million children--6.7-fold more as compared with 1940.[10] Nurseries and kindergartens perform by no means just the function of "caring" for children, freeing mothers from this form of housework. The appraisal of their social effectiveness must not be approached one-sidedly--"economically": it is determined first of all by the equalization of the conditions of the formation of the individual at the earliest stages of his development. It would be incorrect, however, to ignore certain differences in the preschool training of children, which are of a social nature.

This is manifested, in particular, in the different level of the provision of children with preschool institutions in cities and rural areas. In spite of the rapid increase of the number of places at these institutions, their correlation in the city and the countryside still does not conform to the proportions of the urban and rural population (Table 1). To a certain extent this is explained by the fact that rural inhabitants, due to the seasonal nature of many agricultural jobs and other features of the rural way of life, need the organization of the public care of children slightly less than city dwellers. But, as was already said, the social functions of the system of preschool training are by no means limited to such care. As to the creation of equal conditions for the early mental and physical development of children, in rural areas these opportunities are fewer than in the city, and the overcoming of this difference is an important social task of our society.

Table 1

Number of Children in Permanent Preschool Institutions in Urban Settlements and Rural Areas as Compared With the Size of the Urban and Rural Population*

Number of children in permanent preschool institutions	1940	1960	1970	1977
In urban settlements, thousands	1422	3565	7380	9800
Percent of total number	73	82	80	77
In rural areas, thousands	531	863	1901	2872
Percent of total number	27	18	20	23
Proportion of rural population in the total size of the population of the country, percent	67	50	44	38

* See "Deti v SSSR. Statisticheskiy sbornik" /Children in the USSR. A Statistical Collection/, Moscow, 1979, p 20; "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1977 g." /The USSR National Economy in 1977/, Moscow, 1978, p 7.

The social program of the 10th and subsequent five-year plans provides for its accelerated solution, which will be a component of the overall process of gradually erasing the social differences between the city and the countryside.

The following data attest to the rate of construction of kindergartens. In 1961-1978 preschool institutions to accommodate 7,223,000 were put into operation. During the Ninth Five-Year Plan and three years of the 10th Five-Year Plan sevenfold more of these institutions were built than during the entire prewar period. Moreover, in 1951-1978 preschool institutions to accommodate 2.5 million were built on the initiative and at the expense of kolkhozes.[11]

The further development of preschool training involves not only the expansion of its material base. Sociological studies attest to a differentiated

attitude of the main social groups of the population toward preschool institutions. Thus, according to the data of a study made in 1973-1974, 50 percent of the children, whose fathers have less than an elementary education, had never attended kindergarten, while among those whose fathers have a higher eduction only 12 percent had not attended kindergarten, and between these extremes this indicator decreases monotonically as the level of education of the parents increases. Similar data have also been obtained in other studies.[12]

The development of the system of preschool training of children also involves the solution of a number of other problems. Thus, young cities are experiencing the acutest shortage of preschool institutions,[13] and their social planning in this respect for the present is being carried out poorly, without proper consideration of the growing needs of the population. In these cities there are also many other problems, which are connected with the training of children and the solution of which is becoming more and more urgent: the building of schools, the development of the network of extracurricular institutions and so on. There are departmental differences between the preschool institutions, which are financed from the state budget and which are carried on the budget of the trade union organizations of enterprises. This gives rise to great inconveniences for the population, especially in major cities, where the place of residence is often at a considerable distance from the place of work and, consequently, from the sphere of activity of the enterprise which has its own kindergartens. Moreover, such a separation is a prerequisite for some inequality in the material supply of kindergartens. Obviously, the need had come to change the procedure of attracting the assets of enterprises, kolkhozes and trade union organizations for the needs of preschool institutions.

The system of preschool training large governs the social effectiveness of universal secondary education.

The general educational school is the main form of the obtaining of a secondary education by children. During the 1978/79 academic year 39.9 million people studied at day general educational schools of the USSR, including 12.8 million in the 1st-3d grades, 20.8 million in the 4th-8th grades and 5.8 million in the 9th-10th (11th) grades.[14] In connection with the completion of the transition to universal secondary education the correlation of the number of students at the different stages of general education changed: during the 1960/61 academic year the students of the 9th-10th (11th) grades made up 4.5 percent of all school children, while during the 1978/79 school year they made up 14.6 percent.[15] These indicators became substantially closer in urban and rural schools: during the 1960/61 academic year the upper graders made up 6.2 percent of the students of urbans schools and 2.9 percent of the students of rural schools, while during the 1978/79 academic year they made up respectively 14.3 and 14.8 percent.[16] The slight excess of this indicator at rural schools over urban schools is connected with the fact that other, nonschool forms of secondary education: secondary vocational and technical schools and secondary specialized educational institutions, are more developed in the cities.

According to the data of sociological studies, the social composition of the students of the 1st-8th grades during the entire period of education does not differ from the social composition of the population.[17] The statistical data of the USSR Ministry of Education also attest to a substantial increase of the indicator of "the completion of education" (that is, the ratio of the number of those who graduated from school to the number of those who enrolled in the first grade). Thus, the number of school children who in good time received an eight-year education increased from 87.4 percent in 1970 to 95.3 percent in 1978. With allowance made for those who graduated from all kinds of secondary educational institutions, in 1970 69 percent of the former first graders received a complete secondary education, in 1975--86.3 percent and in 1978--97.7 percent.[18]

These data are graphic evidence of the real achievement in our country of the universal complete secondary education of children and youth. They completely refute the slanderous fabrications of some "Sovietologists," that secondary education in the USSR ostensibly "is a reality only for major cities,"[19] as well as the arguments of some bourgeois sociologists concerning the "inequality" of Soviet children in the sphere of education.[20]

At the same time it is impossible not to see the real problems connected with the achievement of universal secondary education. One of them is the nonconformity of the quantitative indicators of the development of education to its qualitative characteristics. Unfortunately, the high quantitative indicators of the operation of schools often are still achieved by means of a decrease of the demands on the level of knowledge of the children and are connected with the notorious "mania for percentages." This is not only a pedagogical, but also a social problem, for the quality of instruction and training to a considerable extent depends on the differences between urban and rural schools in the provision of highly skilled teachers, on the cultural level of the family and other social characteristics. A number of important questions of the further improvement of educational work of the school were raised by educators, psychologists and sociologists at the "round table" meeting of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA at the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences.[21] Let us examine just one of them: the improvement of the labor education and training of children, their preparation for the conscious choice of an occupation.

The educational and training activity of the school in the mature socialist society is inconceivable without the combination of the education of children with their labor training, with their participation in types of socially useful, productive labor, which are within their power. It is well known that K. Marx considered "the complete ban on child labor" a step that is inadmissible in socialist society. With the assurance of the protection of the health of children and the observance of the restrictions connected with their age characteristics, "...the early combination of productive labor with education is one of the mightiest means of reorganizing contemporary society."[22] This most important principle of the theory of scientific communism, which was developed later by V. I. Lenin and was set down in the program documents of the CPSU and the legislative enactments of the Soviet

state on questions of education, was taken as the basis for the activity of the school at the present stage. At present 74 percent of the day secondary general educational schools of the country are carrying out the labor education of students. Upper graders undergo it at enterprises, scientific research institutes, in the student production brigades of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, at interschool educational and production combines, at camps of labor and relaxation, school workshops, laboratories and offices.

However, for the present the distribution of school children among the forms of labor education and the sectors of the national economy is still far from proportionate (see Table 2). In urban areas only two-thirds of the students of the 9th-10th (11th) grades undergo labor education, while in rural schools about 73 percent do. This is explained by the availability in agriculture of more extensive opportunities for the involvement of school children in productive labor than under the conditions of the city.

Table 2

Labor Education of Students of Day Secondary General Educational Schools at the Beginning of the 1978/79 Academy Year*

Sectors of the national economy, in which students undergo labor education	Number of students undergoing labor education	
	in urban settlements	in rural areas
Total number of students of the 9th-10th (11th) grades, millions	3.1	2.7
Of them those who undergo labor education, millions	2.05	1.96
Including at enterprises and organizations, percent:		
industry	44	5
agriculture	5	74
transportation and communications	21	13
construction	3	1
trade, public dining, material and technical supply and marketing, procurements	7	1

*The table was compiled according to data taken from the book "Deti v SSSR. Statisticheskiy sbornik," pp 24, 29.

According to the data of the USSR Ministry of Education, in 1977 the students of the 7th-9th grades were distributed in the following manner among the different types of labor associations: in student brigades at kolkhozes and sovkhozes--3.3 million, at camps of labor and relaxation--2.5 million, at school forest managements--about 500,000, in civic improvement and landscaping detachments--1.6 million, in other types of labor associations--3.5 million.[23] All these forms of the organization of the socially useful labor of children not only promote their development of production skills,

but also accustom them to labor discipline and stimulates the creative initiative of school children.

The accomplishments in this matter are unquestionable. However, many specific methods of enlisting school children in various types of productive labor do no fully correspond to the educational and training tasks of the Soviet school. In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On the Further Improvement of the Education and Training of Students and Their Preparation for Labor," it is noted: "Under the conditions of universal compulsory secondary education the current organization of the labor education, training and vocational guidance of students does not meet the increased demands of social production and scientific and technical progress."[24] The labor education and training of school children so far have not been formed into an integral system which ensures the unity and continuity of its forms and stages. This tells in the shortcomings in the vocational guidance of school children. The sociology of education, unfortunately, is dealing extremely little with this question and is not providing the necessary scientific information. Sociologists are not devoting proper attention to such types of the organization of academic and training activity as schools and groups with an extended (full) day, boarding schools, the social significance of which is increasing more and more.

The opportunities afforded by Soviet society for the comprehensive training of children and the development of their abilities are not confined to the framework of the school. In 1977 there were in the USSR more than 88,200 extracurricular institutions (their number as compared with 1970 increased by 36.5 percent), which encompassed more than 37 million school children--10 million more than in 1970. Among the extracurricular institutions there are about 4,600 palaces and houses of Pioneers and school children, 1,100 stations of young technicians, 6,800 children's music, art and choreography schools, about 6,000 children's and youth sport schools and so on. More than 11 million children vacationed in 1978 at 53,400 Pioneer camps. About 170,000 children's circles, which are attended by 3.2 million people, operate at the club institutions of the system of the USSR Ministry of Culture and trade union organizations. In the country 160 children's theaters are in operation, millions of books for children are being published.[25] The figures are impressive. Behind them is the enormous concern of the mature socialist society about children.

But it cannot be a question, of course, only of the passive "consumption" by children of the diverse and extensive opportunities. The formation of the personality at childhood age presumes an active, interested attitude of young citizens in the life of the country, the aspiration to take a direct part in it, the development in children of that most valuable moral quality which we call an active position in life. To an enormous extent the ideological and political education of school children and the formation among them of a communist world outlook are conducive to this. In 1978 19.6 million children--94 percent of the students of the 4th-8th grades--were members of the Pioneer Organization imeni V. I. Lenin.[26] Questions of

the improvement of its work were thoroughly discussed at the plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee in May 1979. It must be stated, however, that in this respect the sociology of education, like the sociology of training, is greatly indebted to the school. The large-scale and interesting study, which was made in the late 1960's under the direction of R. G. Gurova, made it possible only in part to reveal some things which characterize the attitude of upper graders to learning and to various types of extracurricular activity and the degree of the readiness to perform future labor and civic functions.[27] As to such questions as the structure of the free (extracurricular) time of school children, the system of their value orientations, preferences and many others, they are still awaiting their investigators.

The attitude of students toward vocational education and the choice of a future occupation and desired social status--the social and vocational orientation of school graduates--has been studied to a slightly greater extent.[28] Indeed, this is one of the vital proglems which arise "at the boundary of childhood and youth." In recent years sociologists have established the two most important phenomena in this area: first, the almost universal orientation of school graduates toward obtaining a vocational education before the start of labor activity and, second, a substantial shift of the orientations of young people in the direction of working-class occupations.

These two features of the social and vocational orientation of school children completely conform to the objective needs of the mature socialist society. In conformity with the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses our country is gradually approaching the accomplishment of the universal vocational education of young people, the need for which is dictated by the demands of modern production. As was established in one of the latest studies, 94 percent of the surveyed 10th graders expressed the desire to obtain a vocational education before the start of labor activity.[29] The orientation of 8th graders toward a vocational and technical (especially at secondary vocational and technical schools) and a secondary specialized education has increased considerably as compared with the mid-1960's, while the orientation of 10th graders toward the higher school has decreased by approximately one-half. No appreciable difference was found between the regions of the country for this indicator.

The data of the USSR Ministry of Education on the distribution of the "flow" of graduates from the eighth grade are cited in Table 3.

In 1979 there were already 3,700 secondary vocational and technical schools in the country, at which 1.9 million people were studying (on 1 January). During 1978 alone more than 1.8 million skilled workers were trained at day vocational and technical schools, including 447,000 at secondary vocational and technical schools.[30] Other forms of vocational education are also being rapidly developed. In the future a larger and larger number of boys and girls of the country of mature socialism will embark on an independent labor life not only with a good education, but also with vocational training.

Table 3

Distribution of Graduates of the Eighth Grade of Day General Educational Schools Among Different Types of Secondary Education, Percent*

Types of secondary education	1970	1975	1978
Day general educational schools (9th grade)	54.9	61.7	60.1
Evening (shift) schools (9th grade)	10.8	16.5	14.6
Secondary specialized educational institutions	11.1	9.5	8.6
Secondary vocational and technical schools	1.7	8.8	15.5
Total who continued training to obtain a complete secondary education	78.5	96.5	98.8

*V. N. Yagodkin, "Pedagogicheskiye kadry shkoly i sovershenstvovaniye vospitaniya uchashchikhsya" /Teaching Personnel of the School and the Improvement of the Training of Students/, Moscow, 1979, p 24.

The new tasks in the area of the communist education of children and youth were formulated in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work": "...To achieve the integral unity of the educational and training processes, the formation among pupils and students of a scientific world outlook, high moral and political attributes, diligence. To inculcate in student youths an interest in political knowledge, to develop their public activeness in every possible way. To take steps for the further development of extracurricular work, technical and artistic creativity, physical culture and sports."[31] This program, which was proposed to all the links of the system of public education and the vocational training of young people, will require great efforts not only from educators, school Komsomol and Pioneer organizations, the executives of the system of public education. Extensive sociological studies and the intensification of the coordination of the work of scientists and scientific collectives, who are studying the sociological problems of childhood, are also necessary for the serious scientific substantiation of specific measures on its implementation.

The International Year of the Child is coming to an end. Speaking on the eve of this year over central television, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "Children are our future, they will have to continue the cause of their fathers and mothers. They, I am sure, will make life on earth better and happier. And our duty is to see to it that the children of all nations do not know wars, that they have a peaceful, joyful childhood."[32]

FOOTNOTES

1. See "Deti v SSSR. Statisticheskiy sbornik" /Children in the USSR. A Statistical Collection/ Moscow, 1979, p 9.

2. Calculated according to "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1977 g." /The USSR National Economy in 1977/, Moscow, 1978, p 23.

3. "Deti v SSSR. Statisticheskiy sbornik," p 9.

4. A. G. Kharchev, M. S. Matskovskiy, "Sovremennaya sem'ya i yeye problemy" /The Modern Family and Its Problems/, Moscow, 1978, p 152.

5. "Deti v SSSR. Statisticheskiy sbornik," p 14.

6. Ibid., p 15.

7. "SSSR v tsifrakh v 1978 g." /The USSR in Figures in 1978/, Moscow, 1979, p 194.

8. Ibid., p 195.

9. G. G. Kvasov, "Eticheskiye problemy razvitogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" /Ethical Problems of the Mature Socialist Society/, Moscow, 1974, p 51.

10. "SSSR v tsifrakh v 1978 g.," p 33.

11. "Deti v SSSR. Statisticheskiy sbornik," p 22.

12. See "Vysshaya shkola kak faktor izmeneniya sotsial'noy struktury razvitogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" /The Higher School as a Factor of Change of the Social Structure of the Mature Socialist Society/, Moscow, 1978, p 82; F. R. Filippov, "Vseobshcheye srednee obrazovaniye v SSSR" /Universal Secondary Education in the USSR/, Moscow, 1976, pp 55-57.

13. See G. Kutsev, "Molodezh' i molodyye goroda" /Young People and Young Cities/, Moscow, 1977, pp 70, 71.

14. "Deti v SSSR. Statisticheskiy sbornik," p 23.

15. Ibid. The calculation is ours--F. F.

16. Ibid., p 24. The calculation is ours--F. F.

17. See "Vysshaya shkola kak faktor izmeneniya sotsial'noy struktury razvitogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva," p 75.

18. V. N. Yagodkin, "Pedagogicheskiye kadry shkoly i sovershenstvovaniye vospitaniya uchashchikhsya" /Teaching Personnel of the School and the Improvement of the Training of Students/, Moscow, 1979, pp 22, 23.

19. S. Jacoby, "Inside Soviet Schools," New York, 1974, p 13.

20. See R. B. Dobson, "Social Status and Inequality of Access to Higher Education in the USSR," "Power and Ideology in Education," edited by J. Karabel and A. H. Halsey, New York, 1977, pp 265, 266.

21. See SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 3, 1979, pp 53-74.

22. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." /Works/, Vol 19, p 31.

23. See V. N. Yagodkin, Op. cit., p 212.

24. PRAVDA, 29 December 1977.

25. "Deti v SSSR. Statisticheskiy sbornik," pp 47, 50, 51, 56, 57.

26. Ibid., p 30.

27. See R. T. Gurova, "Vypusknik sredney shkoly" /The Secondary School Graduate/, Moscow, 1977.

28. See M. Kh. Titma, "Vybor professii kak sotsial'naya problema" /The Choice of an Occupation as a Social Problem/, Moscow, 1975; D. L. Konstantinovskiy, "Dinamika professional'nykh orientatsiy molodezhi Sibiri" /Dynamics of the Vocational Orientations of the Young People of Siberia/, Novosibirsk, 1977, and others.

29. "Vysshaya shkola kak faktor izmeneniya sotsial'noy struktury razvitogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva," p 93.

30. "Deti v SSSR. Statisticheskiy sbornik," pp 39, 41.

31. "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy raboty. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS ot 26 aprelya 1979 g." /On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 26 April 1979/, Moscow, 1979, p 14.

32. PRAVDA, 1 January 1979.

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SOCIAL RESULTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF INTERFARM COOPERATION AND AGRO-INDUSTRIAL INTEGRATION

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/Text/ Interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration are a new stage in the accomplishment of communist transformations in the countryside. The most important social results and consequences of these processes are indicated in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Development of the Specialization and Concentration of Agricultural Production on the Basis of Interfarm Cooperation and Agro-Industrial Integration" (of 28 May 1976), in the materials of the July (1978) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and other documents of the party and the Soviet Government, which are devoted to problems of the present-day countryside.

In developing interfarm cooperation, the Communist Party is following the instructions of V. I. Lenin that "cooperation is the greatest cultural legacy which must be cherished and utilized."[1] On the basis of the analysis of the practice of developing socialist agriculture, the party Central Committee has imparted to this major social process partywide, statewide importance and a planned nature.[2] The party is also guided by Lenin's behest in the matter of achieving agro-industrial integration. Back in 1920 V. I. Lenin mentioned among the fundamental tasks of socialism the convergence and unification of industry and agriculture.[3]

Under the conditions of socialism both of these processes promote the solution of such cardinal problems of the building of communism as the change of the nature and content of agricultural labor, its transformation into a variety of industrial labor; the convergence of the kolkhoz and state forms of socialist property, their development into a single national property; the overcoming of the substantial differences between the city and the countryside, the working class and the peasantry, physical and mental labor. And for this reason they are called in party documents the main directions of the present development of the Soviet countryside.

It is quite natural that in recent years these processes have enjoyed greater and greater attention of Soviet social scientists.[4] Unfortunately, the sociological approach to their study is still being used comparatively rarely. Meanwhile, without relying on concrete empirical data about the results and consequences of the measures being implemented, their nature and content, the elaboration of effective recommendations on the elimination of the negative factors and the enhancement of the positive factors, which are connected with the development of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration and so on, is impossible. The sociological analysis of the conditions of their influence (with allowance made for regional differences) on the social structure and way of life of the rural population and on the personality of rural workers is especially important.

As the most important prerequisite of such an analysis it is necessary to examine the influence of these aspects of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration on the development of the forms of socialist property.

The Improvement of Socialist Ownership

Interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration serve as the basis for the further specialization and concentration of agricultural production and create "the conditions for the convergence of kolkhoz-cooperative property with state property and their merger in the future into national property."[5] The intensification of the specialization of agriculture and industry is accompanied by the intensification of the technological division of labor. The latter, while causing an increase in the importance of individual labor, at the same time acts as a factor of the increase in the degree of its socialization, the maturity of the public ownership of the means of production and the socialist distribution of the produced products.

As to interfarm cooperation, for a long time it was developed primarily within the kolkhoz system, since the need for the specialization and cooperation of production and the combining of efforts for the solution of the economic, cultural and general problems beyond the capability of the individual farms arose more urgently precisely at the kolkhozes. Even in the mid-1960's, that is, after the completion of the next consolidation of kolkhozes and the transformation of a significant number of them into departments and brigades, on the average at kolkhozes there very nearly two-thirds as many workers, ten twenty-sevenths as much arable land, one-fourth as much agricultural land, five-ninths to ten twenty-sevenths as many cattle, hogs, sheep and goats as at sovkhozes. The national nature of property at sovkhozes and its considerable scale made it possible to carry out to a greater extent the concentration of both financial and material resources in the key sections of production and the nonproductive sphere. Therefore sovkhozes began to sense much later the intrafarm limitations in the solution of the problems of specialization and concentration. The kolkhozes had already encountered such difficulties in the 1950's, especially after the transfer to them of the equipment of the machine and tractor stations, and therefore they began earlier to seek new organizational and economic forms.

Initially the search proceeded in the direction of the consolidation of kolkhozes, as a result of which farms with great opportunities for intrafarm specialization appeared. Today many kolkhozes are known, which own hundreds of tractors and trucks, have many millions of rubles at their disposal, have herds of many thousands of cattle and so on. They are located mainly in the southern regions of the country, which are more favorable for the development of such giants and their management. For most kolkhozes the limits to consolidation were set by the very natural and climatic conditions of the conducting of agriculture, the dispersion and smooth contour of the land, the difficulties of transportation links and the low density of settlement. Today the income of the bulk of kolkhozes does not exceed 100,000 rubles a year, which is inadequate for independent large-scale construction. "The cooperation of cooperatives" became for them the form of management, which made it possible to pool assets for the purpose of the further concentration and specialization of production and the increase of the efficiency of their activity. Here the kolkhozes are guided by the provision of the model Charter, which guarantees the right to dispose of property and monetary assets only to its own collective organs of management.[6]

At sovkhozes until recently the redistribution of the entire profit and all their capital investments were carried out centrally. Therefore, cooperation was also carried out centrally. The gradual conversion of sovkhozes to cost accounting increased the opportunities to combine forces not only within the sovkhoz system, but also within kolkhozes, as well as with other state enterprises. The number of sovkhozes which are shareholders in interfarm associations began to increase rapidly (see Table 1).

Table 1

Dynamics of the Number of Shareholders in Interfarm Enterprises, Organizations and Associations*

Number of shareholders	1965	1970	1973	1975	1978
Total shareholder farms	47,296	64,329	77,867	94,087	114,940
Including:					
kolkhozes	47,296	64,329	72,072	81,940	95,942
sovkhozes	--	--	5,795	10,213	16,433
others	--	--	--	1,934	2,575

*See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1965 g." /The USSR National Economy in 1965/, p 420; "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1970 g.," p 329; "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1973 g.," pp 464, 466; "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1975 g.," pp 422-424; "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1977 g.," p 280 (estimate).

From Table 1 it is evident that the interfarm cooperation of sovkhozes in practice began to be developed only during the years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, but it is being carried out more rapidly than kolkhoz cooperation. At the same time the degree of cooperation of sovkhozes for the present is

still considerably lower than that of kolkhozes: far from every sovkhoz has joined in interfarm cooperation, while every kolkhoz is a shareholder member of three or four interfarm formations. At the same time the scale of the specialization and concentration of activity at interfarm enterprises, organizations and associations has begun to increase more intensively. The national nature of property at sovkhozes enables the state to carry out the considerable concentration of assets and material resources in the most important directions of production, taking into account as much as possible here the interests of entire sectors of agriculture and the national economy as a whole. Therefore it is not by chance that all the largest specialized agricultural enterprises in the country either were built at the expense of state assets or are the result of the pooling of the assets of a number of sovkhozes.

Interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration are of enormous importance for the multifaceted process of the convergence, and in the end the merging of the two forms of socialist property. Of course, the kolkhozes are following the path of interfarm cooperation, proceeding first of all from their own interests. At the same time the group interest of all the kolkhozes, which to a great extent is combined with the interest of the development of the sectors of agriculture and the national economy as a whole, already predominates in interkolkhoz associations, including agro-industrial associations. With the entry of kolkhozes into cooperation with state enterprises cooperative-kolkhoz property acquires new qualitative characteristics: while losing more and more its group features, it is raised to the next level of socialization, coming closer to the national form.

Not only kolkhoz-cooperative property, but also also the state socialist property of the sovkhozes and industrial and service enterprises belonging to interfarm associations, which is connected with it by cooperation relations and has a higher level of socialization, are changing. As a result of cooperation the potentials of each socialist form of property are revealed more completely, the features of unified socialist property of communist society arise. The interfarm cooperation of kolkhozes with sovkhozes, by increasing and intensifying their group interest, is conducive to its closer interconnection with sectorial and statewide interests and to the intensive increase of socialized productive forces. The analysis of the statistics shows that the authorized and fixed capital of interfarm enterprises is increasing rapidly, the proportion of shares decreases and the proportion of deductions from the profit increases. Thus, at the beginning of the Ninth Five-Year Plan the share capital made up nearly 80 percent of all the authorized capital of interfarm enterprises, by 1975 its proportion had decreased to 73 percent, while in early 1977 it was less than 62 percent. And this is not by chance: the analysis of the authorized capital of interfarm construction organizations, which appeared earlier than the others, shows that in 1970 the proportion of the share capital in it was already slightly more than 31 percent, while in 1977 it was less than 22 percent. Thus, as interfarm cooperation develops, its authorized capital is being replenished more and more not by means of shares, but by means of deductions from the profit. Meanwhile this portion of the

authorized capital is acquiring a more independent nature with respect to the shareholder farms and is not subject to division when individual shareholders leave the interfarm association. All this is bringing the authorized capital closer to the productive capital of state enterprises.

With each year in the revenues of kolkhozes and sovkhozes the proportion of the profit from the activity of interfarm enterprises, organizations and associations is increasing (see Table 2).

Table 2

Indicators of Activity of Kolkhozes and Interfarm Enterprises of the USSR*

Indicators of activity	1970	1975	1977
Gross income of kolkhozes, billions of rubles	22.8	22.3	24.3
Profit of interfarm enterprises	0.52	0.94	1.11
Including:			
construction enterprises, millions of rubles	366.6	541.6	507.5
others, millions of rubles	152.2	398.2	605.0

*See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1977 g." /The USSR National Economy in 1977/, pp 271, 279.

From the table it is evident that the profit of interfarm organizations and enterprises is growing much more rapidly than the gross income of kolkhozes, which stems from the greater efficiency of the production activity of the former. For example, the labor inputs per quintal of weight gain of cattle at kolkhozes are nearly sixfold greater and those of hogs are sevenfold greater, while the production cost of meat is 60-88 percent higher than at interfarm enterprises,[7] which tells on the end results of their activity.

It should be noted, however, that, in spite of the obvious advantage of interfarm cooperation, until recently it was developed slowly. Thus, in 1960 the proportion of fixed capital of kolkhozes in interfarm cooperation was only 2.4 percent of the total amount of fixed capital. By 1965 it had decreased to 2.26 percent, in 1970 it was only 2.71 percent, while in 1975 it was 3.48 percent.[8] The reason for its slow increase consisted in part in the existence of departmental barriers, the task of the overcoming of which was set in the decisions of the July (1978) CPSU Central Committee Plenum[9] and in the recently adopted decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On the Improvement of Planning and the Intensification of the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on the Increase of Production Efficiency and Work Quality."[10] At present the scale of capital investments of kolkhozes and sovkhozes in interfarm enterprises, organizations and associations is being increased more rapidly.

Under the influence of the industrialization of agricultural production and the lessening of its dependence on local conditions the limitation of the kolkhoz form of the socialization of property is being overcome on the basis of its internal reorganization, by means of the improvement of productive

forces and production relations, and especially during the development interkolkhoz and kolkhoz-state cooperation both in the sphere of production and in the area of consumption. The more agriculture takes part in the system of the social distribution of labor, the smaller the role of kolkhoz capital investments is in the reproduction of their means of production: during the postwar period the proportion of the capital investments of kolkhozes in agriculture decreased from 58.2 to 32.2 percent. At the same time the contribution of national resources to the training of manpower and to the assurance of the well-being of kolkhoz farmers has been increasing. Secondary vocational and technical schools are training free of charge for kolkhozes a large portion of the skilled personnel, public funds are meeting a greater and greater portion of the needs of kolkhoz farmers. This contribution is being increased during the development of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration.

The examined processes are of fundamental importance for increasing the level of socialization of production. As a result their economic ties, which are characteristic of cooperation which ensures the performance of production at the expense of the assets of the individual farms, are gradually being replaced by the ties which are necessary for the performance of production at the expense of all of society. All this has placed on the agenda the question, to what exteat does interfarm cooperation affect the nature of ownership of the means of production in the Soviet countryside.

At present no one doubts that this process raises socialist property to a new level, improves it qualitatively and is conducive to the formation of the features of national property. However, considerable inconsistency is observed in the definition of the nature and essence of property of new enterprises and associations. It is called kolkhoz, kolkhoz-sovkhoz, kolkhoz-state, industrial property and so forth. Some terms, like the hybrid "kolkhoz-state industrial property,"[11] are the mechanical combination of the names of types of enterprises or sectors without an attempt to trace the nature of the property, which arises during interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration, and its connection with the main forms of socialist property. Others reflect different conceptual notions about it. Since they are of great theoretical and practical importance, let us examine them in more detail.

Some investigators regard the nature of property of interkolkhoz enterprises and associations of the agricultural or agro-industrial types as a modification of kolkhoz property, others assume that the property of both kolkhozes and interkolkhoz associations is cooperative-kolkhoz property, being notable only for a different degree of socialization, still others claim that the property of interkolkhoz associations is national property or a modification of it. Finally, there are attempts to represent it as a new independent form of property.[12] We regard the property of interkolkhoz associations within the framework of cooperative-kolkhoz property along with the property of kolkhozes.

Cooperative-kolkhoz property is a broader concept that the property of kolkhozes; their identification is methodologically incorrect. The property of kolkhozes is one of the levels of development of cooperative-kolkhoz property, the property of interkolkhoz associations is another, more mature level, which is closer to national property. Thus, being versions of cooperative-kolkhoz property, the property of kolkhozes, on the one hand, and the property of interkolkhoz associations, on the other, reflect specific stages of the increase of the level of its socialization and development in the direction of unified national property. Therefore it is incorrect, in our opinion, to regard the property of interkolkhoz associations as a version of the property of kolkhozes, since the fundamental difference of the former from kolkhozes, which consists in the fact that they are a higher level of socialization, in this case disappears, and, consequently, their role and importance for the further development of the kolkhoz system and for the convergence of the kolkhoz-cooperative form of property with the national form are not emphasized.

At the same time it is impossible to agree with the assertion that as a result of the formation of interkolkhoz associations "the nature of kolkhoz-cooperative property changed completely. It has already in essence lost its group nature...."[13] After all, these associations are developed not outside cooperative-kolkhoz property, but within it. The kolkhozes, to which the results of the activity belong, are their creators. Therefore the assertions about interkolkhoz property as a new form of socialist property also seem incorrect to us.

There are no fewer differences in the assessment of the influence on the form of property of the processes of intersovkhoz and sovkhoz-state cooperation. Some investigators, while recognizing the need for the further increase of the level of socialization of the kolkhoz form of property, presume that this does not concern state socialist property, including its sovkhoz version. It is impossible to agree with this. State enterprises of different sizes and different sectors are involved in production ties to a different extent, have a different level of specialization and concentration, a different level of the social division of labor and its cooperation and other qualitative characteristics. These circumstances cause the need for the further development of the state form of socialist property to the level of national property. Intersovkhoz and sovkhoz-state associations are a definite step in this direction.

The influence of kolkhoz-state and state-kolkhoz cooperation on the development of socialist property is also appraised differently. It is obvious that mixed property is formed during this cooperation, but what is its essence? Opposing points of view clashed in its assessment. Some authors claim that the mixed kolkhoz-state enterprise is connected with the formation of communist property, that its property does not fit into the framework of the two existing forms of it, but as if combines them into a single whole and differs from them according to the objects and subjects of appropriation. Another point of view is also expressed, which denies changes in the forms of the socialist ownership of the means of production under the

influence of the processes of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration. Thus it is claimed that the socio-economic inequality of the two forms of the socialist ownership of the means of production is a law of socialism, which will be in effect until the creation of a classless communist society, and that in the mixed interfarm enterprise the retention of both of these forms and the relations existing between them is necessary. There also exists the opinion that the property of kolkhoz-sovkhoz enterprises is at the same time both a mixed, intermediate version of the two main forms of property and a special form of socialist property.

In the opinion of most investigators, the property of kolkhoz-state associations is one of the transitional forms to unified national property, which occupies an intermediate position between the main forms of socialist property and is integrally connected with them. The kolkhoz farmers employed at such interfarm enterprises by their place and role in social production are characterized by some new features, which makes it possible reorganize them into a transitional, marginal stratum of "peasant-workers," the development of which reflects one of the directions of social class integration in the present-day countryside. The existence of this stratum stems from the transitional nature of the property itself, on which its labor and consumption are based. We do not agree with the assertion that the process of convergence of the two forms of socialist property cannot serve as the cause for the appearance of new social strata and that the result of this processes is not the elimination of the social class division, but its inevitable strengthening.[14] The direction of the process of social differentiation and the appearance of new strata depends on the nature of the social system: under the conditions of capitalism this process promotes the expanded reproduction of class antagonistic relations, under the conditions of socialism it reflects the social integration of society, the convergence of the structural elements inherent in it.[15] The interaction of social differentiation and integration characterizes the dynamics of social life, and it is methodologically incorrect to oppose any of these aspects to the process of the development of social homogeneity at the stage of mature socialism.

The notion that social differentiation contradicts the gradual formation of the social homogeneity of society is connected in some cases with the metaphysical understanding of this complex process and in others with the nondialectical interpretation of the social unity of the mature socialist society as one not containing contradictions. At the same time social differentiation is understood as a process which determines only the increase of social class differences, here the degree of unity of classes and the classlike stratum of the intelligentsia is overestimated, the presence of the already existing social heterogeneity is denied.

The content of the concept of social unity stems from the levels of integration and does not deny the existence of differences at different stages of its development. The degree of this unity is characterized by the dialectical interrelationship of the differences which have and have not been overcome, and for the different levels of integration it is different. The

homogeneity is achieved both by means of the qualitative improvement of some elements and by means of the regrouping during this process of various components, their transformation into qualitatively new ones which are a step forward toward social maturity. The dialectic of the objective process of development of the social class structure toward social homogeneity is such that unity is achieved by the interaction of differentiation and integration with the predominace of the latter. Such dialectical interaction also causes the formation of the qualitatively new transitional marginal stratum of "peasant-workers," which takes place under the influence of interfarm cooperation.

Since, as was already noted, the property of interfarm enterprises is not a new form of property, it does not give rise to a new social class with its special interests and social status, while the appearance on its basis of a new stratum does not contradict the process of the formation of social homogeneity.

The transition to unified property is impossible without intermediate stages, and one of them, in our opinion, is the property of kolkhoz-state enterprises and associations. It is caused by the development of the two main forms of socialist property and is inseparable from them. The shifts in the correlation of the two forms of socialist property, which occur during interfarm cooperation, determine the correlation of the two classes in the countryside. The changes in the degree of socialization of kolkhoz property, the decrease of the differences in the level of development of individual kolkhozes and sovkhozes, as well as of the state industrial enterprises involved in interfarm cooperation, and their greater and greater participation in the unified system of production and distributive relations are transforming the social class structure of the rural population. They determine the shifts in the social make-up of the kolkhoz peasantry and the agrarian detachment of the working class, their convergence with each other and with other detachments of the working class and the intelligensia of the city and the countryside. The transformations in the nature and content of labor first of all promote this.

The Enrichment of the Nature and Content of Labor

In the analysis of the technical-organizational, economic and social aspects of production, which are reflected in the nature and content of labor, the higher capital-labor ratio of interfarm, especially agro-industrial, enterprises as compared with kolkhozes and sovkhozes first of all attracts attention. At the beginning of 1978 there were on the average 7,200 rubles of agricultural fixed production capital per agricultural workers of the country, including 5,400 rubles at kolkhozes, 7,600 rubles a sovkhozes and more than 11,000 rubles at interfarm agrarian enterprises.[16]

This economic indicator characterizes at the same time an important social aspect of labor, attesting, first, to the increase in the production process of the proportion of embodied, as a rule, industrial skilled labor and, consequently, to the improvement of the conditions of the application of

living labor and its facilitation; second, to the increase of the complexity and skilled nature of living labor, its industrialization and intellectualization. True, the link between these aspects is not direct, but is mediated by other factors and first of all by the structure of the fixed capital and physical working capital. At interfarm associations, which have gone through the stage of formation, it is even less perfect that at ordinary kolkhozes and sovkhozes: the proportion of buildings, structures and transfer equipment at them at the beginning of 1978 was 76.8, 62.1 and 58.1 percent, while that of machinery, on the contrary, was 13.5, 16.7 and 18.4 percent (respectively for the mentioned types of enterprises).

On the one hand, the greater proportion of fixed capital as buildings and structures and the smaller proportion as machinery and equipment at interfarm associations are explained by the fact that with the greater concentration of production here better opportunities are created to use the equipment efficiently. At the same time the fact that among the interfarm enterprises the proportion of livestock and processing enterprises, for the functioning of which buildings provided with engineering structures are required, is larger, shows. At the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of this type production is often carried out in converted facilities. The conversion to the use of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, which is qualitatively new for the agriculture of our country, initially requires considerable capital investments, which are subsequently repaid a hundredfold on both the economic and the social level. From the very start an advanced technological structure and the more efficient organization of labor are introduced at the new production facilities, the working conditions are improved substantially, many production operations, which required considerable physical efforts, are eliminated.

Thus, the higher concentration of production and the capital-labor ratio of interfarm enterprises, which is connected with it, even with the still inadequately perfected structure of the fixed production capital ensure on the whole a higher level of the mechanization and automation of labor (see Table 3). As is evident, at cattle farms the gap in the mechanization of the most labor-consuming processes, such as the removal of manure from the barns and the distribution of fodders, is especially significant. Here the qualitative differences of the forms of this mechanization should be kept in mind. At kolkhoz farms it is often limited to an overhead trolley and carts which are moved by hand (the fodders and manure in them are also piled up by hand). At specialized interfarm complexes the fodders are delivered by pipelines or by means of conveyors, the manure is removed by mechanical scrapers, conveyors or by washing and so on. The physical labor here is reduced to a minimum. On the whole the level of complete mechanization here is also higher.

Complete mechanization is a qualitative jump, which ensures a substantial change in the content of labor and an increase of its productivity. However, the operations which have remained unmechanized are often perceived psychologically as more difficult than it seemed before and than they are in reality. This can lead to a negative attitude toward work on the

whole. The economic impact from operation-by-operation mechanization is also moderated by the existence of unmechanized operations, to the rates of the accomplishment of which the production process as a whole, including mechanized operations, should out of necessity be adapted. It is far from always possible to ensure a sufficiently broad front of the utilization of machinery and equipment. This is explained not only by the organizational and technological structure of production, but also by the scale of its concentration, which has a certain limit of increase, which results both from the level of development of the productive forces of society and from the natural and climatic factors of the farming. The noted limitations are largely removed with the complete mechanization and automation of production.

Table 3

Mechanization of the Operations at Livestock and Poultry Farms and Complexes of Kolkhozes, Sovkhozes and Interfarm Enterprises in 1977, Percent of Stock*

Components of mechanization of operations	Total mechanized	At kolkhozes	At sovkhozes	At interfarm enterprises
1. Raising of cattle				
Water supply	85	86	84	86
Distribution of fodders	36	34	37	79
Removal of manure from barns	65	66	63	86
Complete mechanization	33	31	34	68
2. Raising of hogs				
Water supply	93	92	94	96
Distribution of fodders	61	54	64	87
Removal of manure from barns	81	79	81	92
Complete mechanization	58	52	61	85
3. Raising of poultry				
Water supply	94	74	97	85
Distribution of fodders	78	50	82	69
Cleaning of houses	80	51	85	63
Complete mechanization	62	42	66	54

*See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1977 g.," p 110.

From Table 3 it is also evident that in poultry raising the mechanization and automation of operations are highest of all at sovkhozes. This stems from the fact that the specialization of sovkhoz poultry raising, which is being carried out by the Ptitseprom Trust, was also established, production here acquired an industrial nature, interfarm enterprises are still just being set up. At first the old poultry farms and converted facilities are used here, until poultry factories with the complete automation of all the main processes are built. Such a situation is also observed in hothouse management.

The situation in plant growing is more complicated. At present the main field operations--plowing, sowing, the harvesting of cereals--have been completely mechanized; the mechanization of the planting of potatoes, the interrow cultivation of the sowings of sugar beets, corn and cotton, as well as hay mowing, the cleaning of grain, the harvesting of corn, the loading of grain and fertilizers and so on is near completion. But interfarm cooperation is being developed primarily not at these highly specialized works, but in horticulture and vegetable growing, seed growing and the cultivation of technical crops, that is, in the directions which are least mechanized and most labor-consuming. At present the bulk of manual labor is used in orchards and vineyards, at plantations of tobacco and essential oil crops and in vegetable gardens. The concentration of production in these sectors makes it possible to improve them organizationally and economically, but until systems of highly productive machinery and equipment are developed, organizational and technological reorganization here will yield a limited impact. Nevertheless, specialization on the basis of interfarm cooperation in these sectors is making substantial changes in the socio-economic structure of production, is causing an increase of the specialization and professional development of the workers and is evoking a number of qualitative improvements in its social content.

In recent times interfarm cooperation has been covering more and more intensively such sectors as the production of fodders, the transportation of agricultural freight and so on, causing an intensive increase in agriculture of the number of workers of mechanized labor (see Table 4).

Table 4

Number of Machine Operators at Interfarm Agricultural Enterprises (on 1 April of the Year)*

Occupational group	1975	1978	Increase, percent
All workers (thousands)	150.3	232.9	161.6
Including:			
machine operators	28.0	70.0	250.0
Of them:			
tractor driver-mechanics	18.0	43.0	239.0
drivers	10.0	27.0	270.0
Proportion of machine operators among all workers, percent	18.6	30.1	

*See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1975 g.," pp 426, 448; "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1977 g.," pp 279, 300 (estimate).

The data primarily on machine operators in field crop cultivation and transportation are cited in Table 4, therefore for a total estimate of the number and proportion of the workers engaged in mechanized labor it is necessary to add to them a considerable number of the workers of livestock breeding, such as the foremen of machine milking and the operators at

special complexes, machinery and equipment adjusters and the mechanics of purification facilities, boiler houses, machine workshops and so on. But even without this it is obvious that the proportion of machine operators at interfarm enterprises is considerably higher than at kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Thus, in 1975 the proportion of transportation machine operators and combine operators among kolkhoz farmers was 10.1 percent, workers of sovkhozes--11.4 percent and those employed at interfarm enterprises--12.0 percent. Three years later at the kolkhozes and sovkhozes it remained almost unchanged--10.7 and 11.5 percent, while at interfarm enterprises it increased 1.5-fold, being 18.4 percent of all workers. A similar picture is also characteristic of the dynamics of the proportion of drivers. On the whole in 1975 the proportion of these two categories of workers was 14.3 percent at kolkhozes, 16.8 percent at sovkhozes and 18.6 percent at interfarm enterprises. By 1978 it had increased everywhere, but ununiformly, being respectively 15.2, 17.4 and 30.1 percent of all the workers of the mentioned farms and enterprises. The index of the average annual increase of the proportion of machine operators was 0.3 percent at kolkhozes, 0.2 percent at sovkhozes and 3.8 percent at interfarm agricultural enterprises, and its rate at the latter considerably exceeded the intensity of the increase of the number and proportion of other categories of workers.

However, as a result of interfarm cooperation the rate of not only mechanized labor, but also skilled labor in general increases. These two types of it to a considerable extent coincide, but not completely. Mechanized labor is not always skilled and, what is more, highly skilled labor. Especially when it is a matter of labor at conveyors, flow lines of the preparation of grain and so forth, actually a more monotonous and uncreative type of labor than manual skilled labor. On the whole, however, during the mechanization of agricultural production the proportion and number of skilled and highly skilled workers increase. Thus, in the RSFSR during just the period which followed the March (1965) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the proportion of skilled agricultural workers increased 1.6-fold and was 61 percent of their total number.[17] At specialized livestock complexes back at the beginning of the Ninth Five-Year Plan two-thirds of the workers were engaged in skilled mechanized labor.[18] At present this proportion is even higher.

In the process of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration, as the specialization and concentration of production are stepped up, following complete mechanization the automation of production processes is introduced more and more extensively. As a result, with the intensive decrease of the proportion of unskilled labor the number and proportion of average-skilled workers at the same time ceases to increase, but then the number and proportion of highly skilled workers, including at work places, increases. Automated hog raising complexes are already in operation, at which all the main technological operations are carried out according to a program worked out beforehand. Several radio technicians and technical repairmen deal with the control of technological processes and their monitoring. The same thing can be said about large hothouse combines and poultry factories.

following the concentration and specialization of production and the further development of its material and technical aspect the personal factor of labor activity is improved. This is manifested first of all in the increase of the amount and proportion of mechanized labor and skilled workers, in the intellectualization of the labor of the bulk of workers and peasants, as well as the workers of kolkhoz-state enterprises. At the same time new strata, which are similar to worker intellectuals in industry, are formed on the basis of the more and more integral combination in the activity of the worker of physical labor with mental labor. These strata are of a transitional nature and signify one of the directions of the process of the formation of the social homogeneity of the rural population, the overcoming of the differences between physical and mental labor, which is occurring under the conditions of mature socialism under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution.

The terms "worker intellectual" and "peasant intellectual" today are applied and used by many researcher, but far from all of them. Some authors attribute a mechanical nature to their content and suggest in place of them the concepts "intellectual worker" or "worker of a new type."[19] Perhaps more fortuitous terms may appear than "worker intellectual," which became current in science two decades ago and established, in our opinion, the most essential thing in the new stratum: its social class nature (working class) and closeness in the typical traits of social character to the intelligentsia. But one thing is obvious, neither "intellectual worker" nor "worker of a new type" can be an alternative to this term.

The concept "intellectual worker" reflects first of all the degree of culture, spiritual development of the individual, while worker intellectual is noteworthy first of all for its place in the system of the division and organization of national labor, its nature and content. Without denying a certain link of these concepts, it is impossible at the same time to substitute one for the other.

It is indisputable that the concepts "worker intellectuals" and "peasant intellectuals" are also closely connected with the concept "worker of a new type," just as, incidentally, the property of their marginality is connected with the property of their transitional nature as social elements. The incomprehension or inadequate consideration of the dialectics of this connection, the identification of these concepts and properties leads to the methodologically unsound rejection of the new and important process of the improvement of the social structure of the mature socialist society.

The concept "worker of a new type" ("working man of a new type") reflects the overall improvements in the nature of labor, which equally apply to agricultural and industrial, physical and mental labor, mental labor in physical production and the nonproductive sphere and so on. Within these overall qualitative shifts the concepts "worker intellectual" and "peasant intellectual" establish the changes of an intraclass nature within specific classes. The worker intellectual is first of all a worker, the peaseant

intellectual is the flesh of the flesh of the peasant. Without changing their social nature, on the basis of the mastery of the functions of mental labor they acquire many traits which were characteristic originally only of the intelligentsia. The appearance of such workers and peasants does not deny the fact of the overall intellectualization of physical labor, its convergence with mental labor, but implies that the labor of a certain category of workers and peasants requires to a greater extent knowledge of a fundamental nature and includes some functions which were performed previously only by the production intelligentsia.

The marginal nature of the occurrence of these processes is obvious, just as is the transitional nature, but these are different, although interrelated aspects of a single process--the convergence of the nature of labor, the overcoming of social class differences, the formation of socially uniform labor and on this basis the social homogeneity of the workers. The property of marginality is connected with the place of one of the main directions of the mutual convergence of social class elements, while the property of transitionality is connected with its temporal characteristic. It attests that the new marginal strata do not remain socially invariable, but, as new attributes are accumulated, shift to a socially more mature status, which will characterize the homogeneity of communist society.

In conclusion it must be said that the influence of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration on the nature and content of the labor of agricultural workers is not limited to the examined questions. These processes ensure a greater smoothness of production and a certain overcoming of the seasonal nature of labor, are conducive to the improvement of the conditions of production activity, intensify the cooperation and interaction in the process of it and thereby create the conditions for more thorough displays of comradeship and collectivism. They increase the responsibility of each worker for the functions he fulfills and the mutual responsibility for each other. This promotes an increase of technical creativity, substantially changes the socio-economic aspects of labor activity and enriches the social character of the rural worker.

Practice shows that in the process of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration the growth of productive forces in the countryside is significantly accelerated, the level of the supply of the people with agricultural products grows and their well-being is thereby increased. In all zones and regions for all the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the country, small and large, economically strong and weak, equal opportunities are being created for the strengthening and development of the public sector and the assurance of high rates of expanded reproduction. In the life of the countryside the role of both the rural and the urban detachments of the working class is steadily increasing, "the production alliance between the city and the countryside, which is based on the fraternal cooperation of the workers and the peasants and played an important role at the preceding stages of the building of socialism, later naturally develops into a higher form of the production and economic cooperation of agriculture with industry."[20] In connection with the extensive introduction of cooperation in

the nonproductive sphere and the creation of joint cultural, general and health improvement institutions the development of the social infrastructure of the countryside is being expedited. Finally, the significant differences between the city and the countryside in the standard of living and the way of life are being overcome more rapidly, the migration processes are being made more efficient and optimized, the conditions are being created for the all-round harmonious development of the man of a new type, the active builder of the communist society.

Thus, the implementation, which has been launched on a broad front in the Soviet countryside, of the decisions of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, which are outlined in the decree of the July (1978) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the tasks, which are aimed at the utmost development of the processes of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration, is having a most profound effect on the social upswing and flourishing of the countryside and on the movement of Soviet society toward social homogeneity.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." /Complete Works/, Vol 37, p 202.

2. "Leninskaya agrarnaya politika KPSS. Sbornik vazhneyshikh dokumentov (mart 1965-iyul' 1978 g.)" /The Leninist Agrarian Policy of the CPSU. A Collection of the Most Important Documents (March 1965-July 1978)/, Moscow, 1978, p 89.

3. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 42, p 15.

4. I. I. Bodyul, "Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskiye otnosheniya v derevne na stadii razvitogo sotsializma" /Socio-Economic Relations in the Countryside at the Stage of Mature Socialism/, Moscow, 1974; A. I. Timush, "Sotsial'nye protsessy na sele" /Social Processes in the Village/, Kishinev, 1975; A. I. Timush, "Nauchno-tekhnicheskiy progress i sotsial'noye razvitiye sela" /Scientific and Technical Progress and the Social Development of the Village/, Kishinev, 1977; "Sotsial'noye razvitiye sela v period stroitel'stva kommunizma" /Social Development of the Village During the Period of the Building of Communism/, Kishinev, 1976; "Sotsial'naya struktura sel'skogo naseleniya" /The Social Structure of the Rural Population/, Issue 1, Moscow, 1976; "Sotsial'no-politicheskiye, ekonomicheskiye i pravovyye problemy sblizheniya dvukh form sotsialisticheskoy sobstvennosti" /Sociopolitical, Economic and Legal Problems of the Convergence of the Two Forms of Socialist Property/, Vol 1, Kishinev, 1979, and others. (Unfortunately, in the last book, which is of interest for the controversial nature of the problems raised in it and is a collection of materials of an all-union conference /on it see SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 4, 1978, pp 187-199/, there are cases of the replacement of scientific polemics with the hanging of labels on opponents and of the use of methodologically invalid empirical materials which are called "sociological data"--author's note.)

5. "Leninskaya agrarnaya politika KPSS...," p 488.

6. See "Torzhestvo leninskogo kooperativnogo plana" /The Triumph of Lenin's Cooperative Plan/, Moscow, 1969, p 94.

7. See EKONOMIKA SEL'SKOGO KHOZYAYSTVA, No 3, 1977, p 34.

8. See G. Ya. Kusnetsov, "Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskiye problemy sovetskoy derevni" /Socio-Economic Problems of the Soviet Countryside/, Moscow, 1978, p 80.

9. "Leninskaya agrarnaya politika KPSS...," p 91.

10. PRAVDA, 29 July 1979.

11. V. S. Semenov, "Dialektika razvitiya sotsial'noy struktury sovetskogo obshchestva" /Dialectics of the Development of the Social Structure of Soviet Society/, Moscow, 1977, p 158.

12. See a similar statement of these points of views: A. N. Blanovskiy, "The Development of Interfarm Cooperation and the Convergence of the Two Forms of Socialist Property," "Sovershenstvovaniye agrarnykh otnosheniy v usloviyakh razvitogo sotsializma. Tezisy vystupleniy" /The Improvement of Agrarian Relations Under the Conditions of Mature Socialism. Heads of Speeches/, Moscow, 1978, pp 10-17.

13. G. Zinchenko, "The Main Direction," SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN', 21 April 1977.

14. See NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM, No 6, 1978, pp 20, 27.

15. We stated this clearly back in the book: A. M. Gelyuta, V. I. Staroverov, "Sotsial'nyy oblik rabochego intelligenta" /The Social Character of the Worker Intellectual/, Moscow, 1977, pp 4, 7, and therefore categorically reject the accusation of Ts. A. Stepanyan of "confusing the laws of the development of class antagonistic formations and socialism" (see VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 1, 1979, p 52), which he advanced on the basis of our assertion that "the formation of marginal strata is characteristic of all class societies, for it reflects the shifts in productive forces and production relations"--author's note.

16. "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1977 g." /The USSR National Economy in 1977/, pp 214-216, 271, 294.

17. See M. Solomentsev, "The Russian Federation: The Implementation of the Party Socio-Economic Program," KOMMUNIST, No 5, 1978, p 39.

18. See "Problemy kompleksnogo razvitiya sel'skogo khozyaystva" /Problems of the Comprehensive Development of Agriculture/, Moscow, 1974, p 437.

19. V. S. Semenov, "The Place and Role of the Intelligenstia in the Social Structure of the Mature Socialist Society," "Nekotoryye teoreticheskiye problemy formirovaniya i razvitiya sovetskoy intelligentsii na puti k kommunizmu" /Some Theoretical Problems of the Formation and Development of the Soviet Intelligentsia on the Path to Communism/, Moscow, 1979, p 51.

20. "Resheniya partii i pravitel'stva po khozyaystvennym voprosam" /Decisions of the Party and Government on Economic Problems/, Vol 11, Moscow, 1978, p 324.

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APPLIED RESEARCH

THE INCREASE OF THE LABOR AND SOCIOPOLITICAL ACTIVENESS OF THE ENGINEERING AND TECHNICAL INTELLIGENTSIA (ON THE BASIS OF THE MATERIALS OF A SURVEY OF ENGINEERING AND TECHNICAL PERSONNEL OF THE GEORGIAN SSR)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 77-82

/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Teymuraz Mamedovich Dzhafarli and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Filippovich Sbytov, deputy director of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution the engineering and technical intelligentsia to a considerable extent determines the rate of socio-economic progress in the country. For this it is necessary for engineers, technicians and specialists to be equipped with thorough knowledge, and not only special knowledge, but also knowledge of the humanities--philosophy, economics and so on, to be able to work with people and educate them in the spirit of communist consciousness and morality. "The course of the economic, sociopolitical and cultural development of the country and the complete realization of the potentials of mature socialism depend more and more on the achievements of ideological and political educational work."[1] The party requires that every engineer, technician and managerial worker become an active participant in ideological educational work.

An important role in this belongs to the thorough and comprehensive study of public opinion, to sociological research.[2] Such important aspects of the activity of engineers and technicians as participation in the work on increasing the production activeness of workers and in their sociopolitical education have already been studied by Soviet sociologists. The role of the engineering and technical intelligentsia in increasing the social activeness of production collectives has still been inadequately studied.

This article was written on the basis of the materials of a sociological study of the activity of the executives and engineering and technical personnel of industrial enterprises of the Georgian SSR, which was conducted by the Council of Public Opinion attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia and by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The survey was conducted in 15 cities, at 100 industrial enterprises, according to a representative sample. Among the respondents about 40 percent were members of the CPSU; the distribution by nationality was as follows: Georgians--68 percent, Russians--8 percent and other nationalities--24 percent. In all 3 percent of the total population was surveyed.

The goal of the study was the identification of the role and place of engineering and technical personnel in ideological, political, labor and moral education and the study of the opinions of the engineering and technical intelligentsia about ideological educational work in production collectives.

One of the most important indicators of the social development of the individual is "enterprising, creative participation in labor and public life."[3]

The aims of the respondents toward labor activity were evaluated according to the nature of their judgments concerning its role and significance in a person's life. The judgments contained in the questionnaire were of an alternative nature, which made it possible to establish the prevalence and intensity of the preferences by the respondents both of the social value of labor, its meaning and content and of its material side (wages).

As a result of the survey it was found that for 39.2 percent of those surveyed "any job, in which you are of greater use, in which you are necessary to society, is good," 29.1 percent were people who noted that "the meaning and content of a job are important, but wages are of no less importance." Of those surveyed, 26.4 percent indicated that "it is impossible to forget about wages, but the main thing is the meaning of the job, its social value."

In the opinion of 12.4 percent of those surveyed "any job is good, if it pays well," and for 2.7 percent "every job is of importance only as a source of income, all else is unimportant."

The indicated distribution of the aims is closely connected with the level of social activeness of the respondents. Among engineering and technical personnel with a pronounced orientation toward the social aspects of labor activity the proportion of people, who participate in socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor, is respectively 78.3 and 51.8 percent. As the orientation toward the material aspects of labor and the ignoring of its social and professional aspects increase, the proportion of people participating in socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor decreases. Among those who indicated that "every job is of importance only as a source of income, and all else is unimportant," the people who were participating in socialist competition made up 54.1 percent, while those participating in the movement for a communist attitude toward labor made up 28.6 percent.

The data obtained during the study convincingly attest to the high degree of activeness of engineering and technical personnel as participants in socialist competition. The proportion of those participating in it is

72.2 percent of all those surveyed (Table 1). Of the surveyed engineering and technical personnel 16.8 percent are shock workers of communist labor, 27.9 percent are striving to acquire this title. Many engineers and technicians, when the results of socialist competition were tallied, were rewarded and commended for the achieved successes: 26.2 percent of all those surveyed received a monetary bonus, 13.7 percent received a message of appreciation, 10.3 percent of those surveyed were awarded various kinds of material and moral incentives in collective form (diplomas, bonuses, pennants to the brigade, shift, shop). During the socialist competition one-tenth of those surveyed were awarded the honorary badges "Shock Worker of the 10th Five-Year Plan" or "Winner of the Socialist Competition."

Table 1

Participation of Engineering and Technical Personnel in Socialist Competition, Percent

Attitude toward socialist competition	Total	Including		
		CPSU members	Komsomol members	nonparty people
Participate	72.2	80.7	63.2	72.7
Do not participate	21.2	16.0	34.9	23.6
Did not answer the question	6.6	3.3	1.9	3.7

Among that portion of the engineering and technical personnel, who do not participate in socialist competition (21.2 percent) and in the movement for a communist attitude toward labor (39.6 percent), young people noticeably predominate. Specialists with a higher education participate in socialist competition relatively less extensively that specialists with a secondary specialized education. Those who do not participate in it among the former constituted 22.7 percent and among the latter 19.2 percent.

The rate of participation in socialist competition also increased with an increase in the length of service at the enterprise: among the people who had worked at the enterprise less than 3 years the proportion of those who participate in socialist competition is 68.5 percent, among those who had worked 3-5 years--77.9 percent, among those who had worked 6-10 years--80.8 percent, 11-15 years--78.6 percent and more than 15 years--82.8 percent. Among those who participate in socialist competition the proportion of specialists and engineers of various specializations was 46.2 percent, managerial personnel--70.6 percent.

The survey made it possible to obtain information on the role of engineering and technical personnel in the improvement of the organization of the competition, as well as to identify a number of shortcomings. In the opinion of the surveyed engineering and technical personnel, the more effective development of socialist competition is hampered by: the inadequate material stimulation of the competition participations (27.7 percent of those surveyed indicated this fact), formalism in its organization (20.3 percent), the low level of assurance of publicity (19.6 percent), the imperfection

of the forms and methods of the moral encouragement of the competition participants (15.1 percent).

Inventors and rationalizers are making a great contribution to the development of production and the improvement of technological processes. Their activity is an integral part of socialist competition, one of the tasks of which is to stimulate the creative activeness of the workers.

Participation in rationalization and the development of inventions is a vivid expression of the active role of the engineering and technical intelligentsia in technical progress. It is being carried out in several directions: the engineers and technicians themselves submit rationalization proposals and inventions; they advise the worker-rationalizers, give them assistance in the technical makeup of the proposal or invention; ensure the introduction in production of the adopted proposals. Of those surveyed, 26.1 percent regularly take part in rationalization and the development of inventions, 33.5 percent take part occasionally, the remainder do not take part.

The interests of production are the main cause which prompts participation in rationalization and the development of inventions. This cause was singled out by 46.5 percent of those surveyed. Many noted that participation in rationalization and the development of inventions gives them moral satisfaction (18.0 percent). Some of those surveyed (14.2 percent) engage in rationalization and the development of inventions out of material interest.

As was already noted, the active, creative participation of the engineering and technical intelligentsia in socialist competition is the most important factor of the ideological and political education of the workers. By their example the engineering and technical personnel draw the members of the collective into the management of production and help them to raise their general educational, cultural and technical level.

The Soviet engineer is not simply a specialist. He should rationally combine theoretical knowledge "with the ability to solve practical problems,"[4] be a teacher of the collective, the ideological champion of the party, the upholder of everything new and advanced.

The party attaches enormous importance to the active participation in the ideological and political education of the workers of all managerial, engineering and technical personnel and requires that they consistently perform a vanguard role in the social life of the collective.[5] The entire organization of ideological and political work in the collective largely depends on the scope of participation of the engineering and technical personnel in sociopolitical activity.

In the decisions of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Georgia it was noted that in recent years the activeness of the scientific and technical intelligentsia has been stepped up appreciably, their role in the

sociopolitical work among the members of labor collectives has increased.[6] According to the data of the survey, the aim at participation in public activity among the engineering and technical personnel of the republic is quite high (Table 2).

Table 2

Opinions of Engineering and Technical Personnel on Participation in Community Work, Percent*

Opinions on community work	Total	Including		
		CPSU members	Komsomol members	nonparty people
Community work is just as important as production work, therefore engineering and technical personnel should also engage in it	56.8	64.2	53.2	43.7
The main thing for the engineer is production work, it is not mandatory to engage in community work	4.7	5.0	2.8	4.1
It is necessary to engage in community work, but often there is not enough time for this	29.2	22.0	28.9	33.0
The engineering and technical personnel, who have an aptitude for it, should engage in community work	10.8	7.1	13.3	13.2

*In connection with the fact that not all the items of the survey are cited in the table, the total by columns does not equal 100 percent--author's note.

The analysis of the data for the group of those surveyed, who indicated that "the main thing for the engineer is production work, it is not mandatory to engage in community work," revealed the following: among engineering and technical personnel up to the age of 25 this aim is encountered nearly one-fourth to one-third as often as among older ages.

The search for an interrelationship between the aim of those surveyed toward participation in community work and their real participation in it became the next step in the analysis of the sociopolitical activeness of engineering and technical personnel.

The study showed that 65.5 percent of the engineering and technical personnel have permanent assignments, 23.7 percent perform periodical assignments (Table 3).

Table 3

Participation of Engineering and Technical Personnel in Community Work, Percent

Rate of participation in community work	Total	Including		
		CPSU members	Komsomol members	nonparty people
Participate constantly	65.5	88.5	60.1	49.3
Participate occasionally	23.7	9.7	28.4	37.4
Do not participate	6.1	1.1	9.6	9.9
Did not answer the question	4.7	0.9	1.9	3.4

Here among the people who are oriented toward participation in community work, 82 percent participate in it constantly, 13.3 percent participate in it occasionally and only 3.3 percent do not take any part in it. But among those who believe that "it is mandatory for an engineer to engage in community work," the proportion of the people not taking part in it is 11.4 percent, while the proportion of those taking part in community work occasionally is 38.6 percent.

It can be assumed that the aim toward participation in community work to a considerable extent determines the display of sociopolitical activeness. At the same time the formation of such an aim depends on the overall state of affairs in the collective, its psychological climate, traditions and so on.

The engineering and technical personnel not taking part in community work cite family circumstances, the lack of time, the fact that no one suggested that they participate in it, that community work interferes with the performance of production duties and that the proposed assignments were uninteresting to them. Of those surveyed, 2.2 percent gave as the reason for their nonparticipation in community work the fact that it takes a lot of time and at the same time is not paid for. This fact attests that not all engineering and technical personnel have formed a proper understanding of the very essence and nature of community work--voluntary and unpaid activity for the benefit of the collective and society.

Of those engaged in community work more than 70 percent hold elected party, Komsomol and trade union posts and perform agitation and propaganda activity, about 25 percent take part in various public technical associations and so on.

In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," it is emphasized that "the formation among the Soviet people of a scientific world outlook, selfless devotion to the cause of the party, to communist ideals, love of the socialist homeland, proletarian internationalism was and remains"[7] its heart.

According to the data of the survey, among the majority of managerial, engineering and technical personnel of republic industry the regular study of the theory of Marxism-Leninism has become an inner need. The analysis of Table 4 shows that nearly 95 percent of those surveyed in one form or another are increasing the level of their economic and political knowledge. Moreover, more than 40 percent of the engineering and technical personnel, primarily young specialists, are studying Marxist-Leninist theory on their own.

Table 4

Political Training of Engineering and Technical Personnel, Percent*

Forms of political training	Total	Including		
		members and candidate members of CPSU	Komsomol members	nonparty people
Study at evening university of Marxism-Leninism	5.5	5.9	8.7	3.7
Study in the system of economic or political education	40.6	42.9	31.5	34.3
Attend methodological or theoretical seminar	7.6	10.1	2.7	5.8
Engage independently in political education	40.2	36.9	43.7	40.2
Not engaged in political training	4.7	1.0	4.8	7.8
Did not answer	6 6	3.2	6.8	8.2

*The total is more than 100 percent because some respondents marked more than one item--author's note.

To supplement their sociopolitical knowledge and to obtain political information the engineering and technical personnel also turn to the means of mass information and propaganda. Thus, 70.8 percent of those surveyed regularly read the republic newspaper KOMMUNIST, 50.3 percent read PRAVDA, 33 percent read ZARYA VOSTOKA. Television broadcasts are used as a source of sociopolitical information by 72.3 percent of those surveyed; the corresponding broadcasts of Radio Georgia--66.3 percent; all-union radio--52.8 percent.

The ideological and ideological educational work of party and public organizations among engineering and technical personnel, as far as the results of the survey of specialists of the industrial enterprises of Georgia make it possible to judge, is promoting their proper understanding of the ways to further develop socialism and the realization of the correctness of communist ideas and the superiority of the socialist system. At the same time the people, who have inadequately mastered the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and communist ideology and are poorly oriented in

the main directions of the present ideological struggle, at times incorrectly evaluate some of the most important sociopolitical problems of the scientific and technical revolution and its social consequences.

In light of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia discussed the results of the sociological study, the basic content of which was set forth in this article. Particular attention here was devoted to the analysis of the possibilities of further improving the work among the republic engineering and technical intelligentsia and to the enhancement of its role in the ideological and political education of the members of production collectives.

FOOTNOTES

1. "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy raboty. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS ot 26 aprelya 1979 g." /On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 26 April 1979/, Moscow, 1979, p 6.

2. Ibid., p 11.

3. Ibid., p 8.

4. "'On the Further Development of the Higher School and the Increase of the Quality of Training of Specialists.' Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers," PRAVDA, 12 July 1979.

5. See "Ob ideologicheskoy rabote KPSS" /On the Ideological Work of the CPSU/, a collection of documents, Moscow, 1977, pp 338, 441.

6. See ZARYA VOSTOKA, 6 February 1978.

7. "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy rabote," p 9.

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THE PRESTIGE AND ATTRACTIVENESS OF AN OCCUPATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 83-90

/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Irina Markovna Popova, head of the Chair of Philosophy of Odessa State University imeni I. I. Mechnikov, and Viktor Borisovich Moin, senior scientific staff member of the Chair of Philosophy of Odessa State University imeni I. I. Mechnikov/

/Text/ The studies of prestige, which are being conducted in our country, are aimed not only at the analysis of its essence and the mechanisms of the bearing of prestige on the objects of culture, but also at the solution of quite specific problems of social planning and control. Researchers proceed from the assumption that the study of the prestige of an occupation in our society makes it possible to control more effectively the occupational self-determination of young people,[1] to regulate and predict the movement of workers in the sphere of social production[2] and to plan the training of personnel for the national economy.[3]

In spite of some similarity of the premises, by means of which the practical importance of studies of prestige is substantiated in our scientific literature, the interpretation of this concept is ambiguous. Prestige is interpreted as the reflection in public opinion of public authority,[4] as "the selective attitude of a social group or individual to certain material and spiritual benefits,"[5] as the degree of respect for certain occupations or others[6] and so on. In conformity with the selected interpretation the information on prestige, which was obtained as a result of sociological research, is interpreted differently, although the empirical indicators used in the different studies for obtaining this information differ very negligibly from each other.

The urgency of the theme we have touched on, on the one hand, and the ambiguity of the interpretations of the concept of prestige, on the other, cause the need for the further study of this most important sociological category and for the identification of the features of prestige as a specific phenomenon of the public conscience. The latter, strictly speaking, is also the main task of this article.

In our studies[7] we did not strive to obtain data on the prestigiousness of certain objects or others, but tried to find the specific features of the public conscience, which govern the bearing of prestige on activity, and on this basis to determine the legitimacy of some interpretation or other of the results of the empirical study of prestige and the possibilities of the practical use of these results.

Regarding prestige as a phenomenon of the public conscience, we proceed from the fact that it is of a value-standard nature; the purpose of prestige is to subordinate objects, to evaluate them in conformity with an already accepted scale of values. Such an understanding of prestige presumes the corresponding interpretation of values themselves, which we understand as the specific reflection in the consciousness of a person of the importance of some phenomena or others. The specific nature of value notions is connected with the need to differentiate what is valuable and what is useful, with the realization that value notions are primarily the ideals of public and, on this basis, personal activity.[8]

The fact that the bearing of prestige is not the orientation of the individual toward objects in themselves in conformity with the realization of the degree of their importance, their greater or lesser ability to meet needs, is explained by the value-standard nature of prestige. Prestige characterizes in a certain sense a mediated attitude toward the objects of culture, conveying the notions of the individual about the "standard" group. Various approved and desirable attributes are ascribed to the latter: good living conditions, interesting ways of spending time, exciting types of activity, an "ideal" way of life and so on.

The prestige of pursuits, of means of spending leisure time is thus an expression of notions about various standard attributes, the set of which results from concrete historical and socio-economic factors.

In an antagonistic class society first of all the attributes, which characterize social status: income, power over people, the level of consumption and others, play the role of standard attributes. In other words, so-called status prestige is of decisive importance here. It is not by chance that in western sociological literature, which rests on an idealistic interpretation of the problem, prestige is regarded primarily as an analog of social status, while the amount of income received by the representatives of different occupational groups is taken as the basis which differentiates occupations according to prestige.[9] The close connection between prestige and the amount of income, which is revealed in empirical studies,[10] is used by bourgeois sociologists for substantiating the legitimacy of using prestige as an indicator of the social status of the representatives of different occupational groups. In conformity with this the studies of the prestige of an occupation, for instance in the United States, involve primarily the study of the social structure of society.

Moreover, in western sociological literature the identification of the prestige of occupations with the real social status occurs, which, of course,

leads to an incorrect interpretation of the social structure of society. "Status prestige" is the basis for the "status appropriation of culture,"[11] which is characteristic of capitalist society.

The absolutization of the value-standard aspect of research, which is characteristic of bourgeois sociology, not only causes the identification of the prestige of occupations and social status, but also leads to the exaggeration of the importance of the prestige mechanism in the regulation of human activity. Analyzing American studies in the field of sociolinguistics, A. D. Shveytser notes that allusion to prestige, which is very widespread there, is merely a consequence of the fact that scholars cannot give explanations to the phenomena being studied.[12]

Returning to the question of the nature of prestige as a phenomenon of the public conscience, let us note that its features are revealed most clearly in the comparison of the prestige and attractiveness of occupations.[13] Let us dwell on this in more detail. An attractive occupation is a desirable occupation, one which the individual likes. It is considered that the appraisals of attractiveness in contrast to the appraisals of prestige are of a more personal nature and are formed with allowance made for the objective and subjective circumstances which characterize a group of people and their appraisals of their own abilities.[14] The differentiation of prestige and attractiveness attests to recognition of the specific nature of the bearing of prestige, in case of which the notions about certain attributes and features of an occupation are mediated by generally accepted standards and stereotypes of the public conscience. The latter also have an influence on the attractiveness of occupations. However, the attractiveness is caused first of all by the immediate importance for the respondents of certain features or others of the occupation. In differentiating "prestige" and "attractiveness" as categories in which certain phenomena or others are expressed as if in "pure form" and their most significant aspects are established, we realize that in real life these aspects are closely interconnected.

The qualitative differences of the prestige and attractiveness of occupations are traced not only at the theoretical philosophical level. With the appropriate methods backing of comparative research it is possible to obtain numerical results which confirm the actual existence of such differences.

The task of the undertaken study consisted in identifying the specific nature of the bearing of prestige as a special mechanism of the public conscience. Groups of respondents, which differ significantly in their life and production experience, namely: school children and workers of industrial enterprises, were chosen as the object of the study.[15]

At the planning stage the following assumptions concerning the possible results were advanced.

First, the greater the life and production experience of the respondents is, the greater the differences will be between the scale of prestige and the scale of attractiveness of occupations.

Second, the appraisals of the prestige of occupations should be less dependent than the appraisals of their attractiveness on the choice of occupations by school children and the occupational affiliation of workers.

Third, the characteristics of prestigious occupations will conform to a greater extent to socially approved values and ideals than will the characteristics of attractive occupations.

Fourth, the notions about the attractiveness of occupations should be connected to a greater extent than the notions about the prestige of occupations with the actual behavior of the respondents.

We identified the objective factors, which determine the prestige and attractiveness of occupations, on the basis of the connection of the various characteristics of the occupations being studied with the scales of prestige and attractiveness.[16]

At the preliminary stage of the study relatively complete information was gathered, which characterizes the features of various occupational groups[17] and includes sociodemographic parameters (sex, level of education, marital status, length of service, age and others), indicators of the content of labor (amount of wages, level of skills, number and structure of the functions performed, extent of required knowledge and skills), indicators of the labor activity of workers (personnel turnover, rate of increase of skills, fulfillment of the output norms, work quality, participation in rationalization and the development of inventions) and, finally, subjective characteristics (satisfaction with occupations, the enterprise, the content of labor, various elements of the work situation). In all 55 different indicators were taken into account.

The procedures of measuring prestige, which were used in the study, were based on the technique of successive sampling. In order to determine and appraise the prestige of working occupations (among all those existing at the plant) the respondents were asked to name the three most and three least popular. When determining the attractiveness of occupations they were invited to name the one which "is liked more than the others" and the one which "is especially disliked."

In the group of school children the technique of successive sampling was also used, but the survey was made on the basis of a list suggested by the interviewer, which included the 13 best known occupations.

When determining the place of one occupation or another on the scale of prestige it is necessary to eliminate the influence of the occupational affiliation of the respondent, since it can be assumed that those being surveyed are inclined to give an overstated appraisal of the prestige of their

present or future occupation.[18] In order to eliminate the influence of this factor the occupational orientation or the occupational affiliation of the respondent was taken into account when determining the prestige and attractiveness of occupations. This was done in the following manner: three indicators of the prestige (and accordingly the attractiveness) of each occupation were calculated: a "general" indicator, which determined on the basis of the appraisals of the entire population of those surveyed; an "external" indicator--the appraisal of the given occupation by the people who actually have it or intend to have it after completing school were not taken into account in it; and an "internal" indicator, which was formed only on the basis of the appraisals of "one's own" occupations. The "external" indicator served as the main analytical attribute.

Moreover, when studying the group of school children we distinguished two forms of notions about the attractiveness of occupations, which were arbitrarily called "real" and "ideal" attractiveness. The "real" attractiveness is realized by the subject, who proceeds from concrete possibilities of realizing the choice, including the appraisals of this own abilities. The "ideal" attractiveness, on the contrary, is determined by the interests and inclinations of the subject, the general direction of the value orientations in the area of the choice of an occupation. When determining the "real" attractiveness of an occupation the school child was asked to name the occupation which he wants to acquire after finishing school, while in order to determine the "ideal" attractiveness he was asked to name the one which corresponds most to his desires and interests. Thus, the "ideal" attractiveness occupies an intermediate position between the prestige and the "real" attractiveness of an occupation.

In all the studies we know a very close connection between the scales of the prestige and the attractiveness of occupations has been found.[19] This is apparently explained by by circumstances: first, the hidden influence of occupational intentions (or occupational affiliation) of the respondents; second, by the fact that, as a rule, young people, for whom the attractiveness of occupations (just as their selection) to a considerable extent is determined by stereotypes of the public conscience, were the object of the study. Moreover, the peculiarities of the perception of the terms used in the documents of the gathering of primary information: "popularity," "prestige," "attractiveness" and others, remain unstudied. An inadequate interpretation of these concepts in everyday consciousness can become one of the causes of the close connection of prestigiousness and attractiveness.

In our study the dependence between the scales of "general" prestige and "general" attractiveness of occupations was also ascertained (for school children $\rho=0.86$, for workers $\rho=0.71$). However, with the elimination of the influence of the occupations of workers and the occupational intentions of school children and the comparison of the indicators of the "external" prestige and the "external" attractiveness no statistically significant relationship was found. At the same time differences are observed in the appraisals, on the basis of which the "general" scales were organized. Thus, the appraisals of the prestige and attractiveness of the same occupations coincide

only among half the school children, and the degree of this coincidence fluctuates significantly when appraising different occupations (from 15 to 77 percent).

The differences between the appraisals of the prestige and attractiveness of occupations depend on the occupational affiliation of the workers and the occupational orientations of the school children. As was assumed, the occupational affiliation (the orientation toward acquiring this occupation) has a stronger influence on the appraisals of attractiveness than on the appraisals of prestige, while the difference of "prestige" and "attractiveness" is greater among school children than among workers (see Table 1).

Table 1

Appraisal by Those Surveyed of the Prestige and Attractiveness of the Occupations Which They Have (Workers) or Intend to Acquire (School Children), Percent

Group of respondents	Number of those surveyed who named their own occupation (or the occupation which they intend to acquire) most	
	prestigious	attractive
Workers (N = 2,710)	46	58
School children (N = 603)	50	69

The fact that a closer relationship is observed between the scales of "internal" and "external" attractiveness than between the scales of "internal" and "external" prestige (in the former case the value of the Kendall rank correlation coefficient equals 0.73, in the latter case--0.45), attests to the stronger influence of occupational affiliation (intentions) on the appraisals of the attractiveness of occupations.

As was already noted, a significant influence of the occupational affiliation of the respondents (their occupational intentions) on the appraisals of prestige has been found by many Soviet and foreign specialists. However, either this fact is not explained at all or the explanation is reduced to an allusion to "the general tendency of people to overestimate their own occupational positions."[20] The data of our study make it possible to make the conjecture that the higher appraisals of the prestige of one's own occupation take the form of a unique compensatory mechanism which promotes the self-affirmation of the individual. Here the following tendency can be traced: the less skilled and meaningful the labor of a given occupation is, the greater the number of those among the people having this occupation or intending to acquire it, who assign it to the most prestigious occupation. Thus, for example, among school children, who had selected the occupations of rural machine operator and worker of the services, respectively 80 and 71 percent of those surveyed called them the most prestigious, while among those who chose the occupation of teacher and scientist the analogous indicators were 33 and 8 percent.

However, there is a limit, beyond which prestige ceases to fulfill its compensatory functions: the prestige of unskilled occupations is rated very low both by the adults having them and by the school children who intend to acquire them after finishing school.

The difference of prestige and attractiveness also expresses itself in the fact that they depend to a different degree on the actual possibilities of selecting the occupations. We used as the indicators of the possibilities of selection the self-appraisal of the progress of school children (see Table 2) and the data on the social status of their parents (see Table 3).

Table 2

Dependence of the Appraisals of the Prestige and Attractiveness of Occupations, Which Require a Higher and Secondary Education, on the Progress of School Children, Percent

Progress of school children	Number of those surveyed who consider an occupation prestigious	Number of those surveyed who consider an occupation attractive	
		"ideally"	"really"
Excellent	92	88	91
Good	73	63	59
Satisfactory	44	31	24

Table 3

Dependence of the Appraisals of the Prestige and Attractiveness of Occupations, Which Require a Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, on the Social Origin of School Children, Percent

Social origin of school children	Number of those surveyed who consider an occupation prestigious	Number of those surveyed who consider an occupation attractive	
		"ideally"	"really"
Children of specialists	75	75	72
Children of workers, kolkhoz farmers, nonspecialist employees	65	51	45

The data of Table 2 attest that the possibilities of selecting an occupation, which are determined by progress, have a greater influence on the appraisal of the "real" attractiveness of an occupation and the actual occupational intentions of a school child than on the "ideal" attractiveness and prestige of occupations. This fact fully accords with the stated assumptions about the specific nature of the appraisals of the prestige of occupations. At the same time the dependence of the appraisals of prestige on the possibilities of acquiring an occupation remains very significant, which confirms our assumptions that appraisals of prestige in "pure" form do not exist, that the influence of socially approved values and ideals, which act

as the main criterion of these appraisals, is adjusted to a considerable extent by the needs of the individual and the range of his opportunities.

Similar conclusions can also be drawn by comparing the appraisals of the prestige and attractiveness of occupations, which were made by school children whose parents have a different social status. Depending on the level of education, occupation and occupied position of the father, we combined the school children into two groups. One group was made up of the children of specialists: physicians, teachers, agronomists, zootechnicians, engineers and so on; the other group was made up of the children of workers, kolkhoz farmers and nonspecialist employees. The distribution of those surveyed, who named as the most prestigious (or attractive) occupations, for the mastery of which the obtaining of a secondary specialized or higher education is required, according to the two indicated groups (see Table 3) makes it possible to infer a stronger influence of social origin on the appraisal of "real" attractiveness. Thus, prestigiousness as a stereotype of the public conscience is less dependent on the social affiliation of the parents than the actual selection of an occupation, which is determined by the available opportunities.

The identification of the objective features of the occupations being selected is of especially great importance for the determination of the specific nature of prestige and attractiveness.

The scale of prestige was connected with 15 of the 55 studied parameters of occupational groups (the value τ is significant for $\alpha = 0.05$), namely: with the level of education, the satisfaction with the specialty and content of labor, the proportion of highly skilled workers, the average skill category, the satisfaction with the possibilities of occupational development and other indicators.

Not only the objective features of the occupations being appraised, but also the subjective attitude toward labor of the representatives of these occupations have a substantial influence on prestige. Moreover, the scale of prestige is connected to a considerably greater extent with the indicators of the subjective attitude toward labor than with the objective indicators of the content of labor.

Nearly all the characteristics of the occupational groups (both objective and subjective), with which the scale of prestige is connected, in one way or another reflect the content of labor or the attitude of the worker toward it. This makes it possible to conclude that first of all the content of labor acts as the basis of the prestige of occupations (especially working class occupations) in our society. This conclusion is also confirmed by the data obtained as a result of the analysis of the rank correlation matrix (according to τ) of the attributes being studied. The "external" prestige, the satisfaction with the content of labor (interesting, diverse work) and the orientation toward the increase of skills were made into a separate "taxon." The interrelationship of these attributes was closer than their relationship with the other attributes included in the matrix.

The scale of attractiveness of occupations is connected not only with the indicators of the content of labor, but also with the appraisals of the working conditions: the smoothness of work, the difficulty of labor, the satisfaction with wages. It correlates closest with the appraisals of the smoothness of work ($\tau = 0.87$) and the difficulty of labor ($\tau = 0.81$) and least with the satisfaction with the occupation and the content of labor (τ is correspondingly equal to 0.54 and 0.53). Of all the studied objective indicators of the content of labor the attractiveness is connected closest with the average skill category of the occupations being appraised ($\tau = 0.65$). However, this dependence to a considerable extent stems from the hidden influence of working conditions: with the elimination of the influence of the appraisals of the difficulty of labor the value of the Kendall coefficient between the attractiveness and the level of skill decreases ($\tau = 0.35$).

Thus, there are substantial differences between the objective factors of prestige and attractiveness: the content of labor functions as the basis of the prestige of occupations, while the attractiveness of occupations to a considerable extent is determined by the working conditions.

Moreover, according to the data of our study, prestige is not connected with the actual behavior of the workers (the personnel turnover, the length of service in a specialty, the deficiency of occupations), while attractiveness has an appreciable influence on real behavior: the greater it is, the more stable, as a rule, the occupational group is (in it the length of service in the specialty is higher, the turnover is lower, fewer difficulties arise in the recruitment of personnel).

The analysis of the empirical material confirms the suggestion we made about the value nature of prestige, as well as about the fact that attractiveness is connected to a greater degree than prestige with the personal preferences and needs of the respondents. Meaningful, interesting work is the standard quality which is the basis for the prestige of occupations. Different types of studies of the subjective factor of labor activity attest that the content of labor in the consciousness of the workers, as a rule, is in first place. However, in the subordination of needs the content of a job is not always predominant, for a considerable discrepancy between value notions and needs is possible. Consequently, the results of the study of the prestige of occupations attests to the legitimacy of a relatively narrow interpretation of values and to the need for the differentiation of value notions and needs.

The obtained data on the nature of prestige and attractiveness, and particularly the lack of a close connection between prestige and actual behavior, makes it possible to draw a number of conclusions which are of practical importance. In our opinion, the results of the study cast doubt on the possibility of directly using the information on prestige in the practice of the formation and distribution of manpower resources. The suggestions which existed on the use of the indicated information in management practice were based in one way or another on the assumptions about a strong

influence of prestige on the attractiveness of an occupation and the actual behavior of the workers, on the one hand, and about the possibility of conscious influence on prestige itself, on the other. Meanwhile, the data of our study did not confirm the first assumption. As to the possibilities of the formation of prestige, they are connected, as a rule, with the influence of the mass media and require independent study. Let us merely indicate that such an assumption is quite legitimate, since the role of the means of propaganda in the formation of value notions and stereotypes of the public conscience is indeed great. However, those few domestic studies, which are devoted to this question,[21] do not reveal the mechanism of this influence. The problem of the possibilities of the purposeful formation of prestige requires a more thorough elaboration.

FOOTNOTES

1. See M. Kh. Titma, "Vybor professii kak sotsial'naya problema" /The Choice of an Occupation as a Social Problem/, Moscow, 1975, p 143.

2. See R. V. Ryvkina, "On the Study of the Sociopsychological Aspects of Labor Mobility," "Metodicheskiye problemy sotsiologicheskogo issledovaniya trudovykh resursov" /Methods Problems of the Sociological Study of Manpower Resources/, Novosibirsk, 1974, pp 98-101.

3. See V. N. Shubkin, "The Start of the Path," NOVYY MIR, No 2, 1976, p 209.

4. See V. D. Komarov, "On the Problem of Authority in Sociological Theory," VESTNIK LENINGRADSKOGO UNIVERSITETA, Issue 2, No 11, 1967.

5. O. Solotareva, "The Prestige and Attractiveness of an Occupation Among Those Enrolling in Higher Educational Institutions of the Estonian SSR," "Sotsial'no-professional'naya oriyentatsiya molodezhi" /The Social and Occupational Orientation of Young People/, Tartu, 1973, p 251.

6. See M. Kh. Titma, op. cit., p 68.

7. The studies were conducted by the sociological laboratory of Odessa State University under the direction of I. M. Popova.

8. See I. S. Narskiy, "Dialekticheskoye protivorechiye i logika poznaniya" /The Dialectical Contradiction and the Logic of Knowledge/, Moscow, 1968, p 214.

9. R. N. Hall, "Occupation and Social Structure," New York, 1969, p 268.

10. A. J. Reiss, "Occupations and Social Status," New York, 1961, p 84.

11. See Ye. Ya. Basin, V. M. Krasnov, "The Status Appropriation of Culture as a Regulator of Social Intercourse Under Capitalism," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 10, 1969.

12. See A. D. Shveytser, "Voprosy sotsiologii yazyka v sovremennoy amerikanskoy lingvistike" /Problems of the Sociology of Language in Modern American Linguistics/, Leningrad, 1971, p 66.

13. See, for example, V. V. Vodzinskaya, "On the Social Conditionality of the Choice of Occupation," "Sotsial'nyye problemy truda i proizvodstva" /Social Problems of Labor and Production/, Moscow-Warsaw, 1969; A. Sarapata, "The Study of the Hierarchy of Prestige of Professional Occupations in Poland," "Problemy razvitiya sotsial'noy struktury obshchestva v Sovetskom Soyuze i Pol'she" /Problems of the Development of the Social Structure of Society in the Soviet Union and Poland/, Moscow, 1976; M. Kh. Titma, Op. cit., and others.

14. See R. V. Ryvkina, Op. cit., p 102.

15. In all 603 students of the 8th and 10th grades of one of the rural rayons of Odesskaya Oblast, as well as 2,700 workers of two ship repair enterprises of the city of Odessa were surveyed by the method of the formalized interview. The question of the representativeness of the data is not examined by us, since the study was of a methodical nature.

16. The extent of the connection of the scales of prestige and attractiveness with the characteristics of the occupations being appraised according to prestige and attractiveness was determined by means of rank correlation coefficients. The reasons, which are advanced by the respondents to explain their attitude toward an occupation, in our opinion, cannot be considered an adequate basis for determining the factors of prestige and attractiveness.

17. An analysis of plant documents, various forms of statistical reporting and the job and wage rates classification manual and a survey of the experts and workers of the enterprises being studied were made in order to gather this information.

18. See M. Kh. Titma, Op. cit., pp 102, 135; "Problemy narodonaseleniya i trudovykh resursov" /Problems of Population and Manpower Resources/, Issue IV, Minsk, 1975, p 68.

19. See, for example, O. Solotareva, Op. cit., p 255; "Problemy proforiyentatsii i profotbora" /Problems of Vocational Guidance and Occupational Choice/, Kiev, 1974, p 165; M. Kh. Titma, Op. cit., p 139.

20. R. N. Hall, Op. cit., p 274.

2' See, for example, A. V. Korbut, "Occupations in the Materials of the Mass Media," "Sotsiologicheskiye problemy obshchestvennogo mneniya i sredstv massovoy informatsii" /Sociological Problems of Public Opinion and the Mass Media/, Moscow, 1976.

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SOCIOPOLITICAL ACTIVITY OF RETIREES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 91-98

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Davydovich Shapiro, senior scientific staff member of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Nikolay Nesterovich Pyzhov, instructor of the Chair of Scientific Communism of Kherson Pedagogical Institute/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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AN ATTEMPT TO STUDY THE PECULIARITIES OF PUSH-PULL MIGRATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 99-103

/Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Nikolay Fedorovich Timchuk, chief of a division of the Computer Center of the Ukrainian SSR State Planning Committee; Zinoviy Vasil'yevich Mel'nik, head of a group of the VNIIPgrazhdansel'stroy; and Nikolay Grigor'yevich Shcherbak, acting chief of the Ukrainian SSR Administration of Manpower Resources/

/Text/ Push-pull labor migration has become the object of special socio-economic research in connection with the significant scale and increasing rate of its development. The workers taking part in migration of this type are, to use the graphic phrase of V. G. Davydovich,[1] "a state on wheels." Their number annually exceeds 10 million, of whom, according to the data of statistical accounting, the residents of rural regions make up more than 4 million. In the Ukrainian SSR alone, one of the most urbanized republics of the country, there are more than 1.8 million push-pull migrants,[2] and in the past 15 years their number has increased nearly 2.5-fold. With an overall tendency toward a decline of the rural population in the Ukrainian SSR its size in the zones of influence of major cities remains stable. At the same time the proportion of the nonagrarian population is steadily increasing in the countryside, which is also connected to a considerable extent with the phenomenon of push-pull migration.

Without consideration of push-pull migration it is now impossible to plan the use of the manpower resources of cities and rural administrative rayons.

A statistical analysis shows that 73 percent of the migrants in the Ukrainian SSR move from the village to the city, 18.5 percent--from city to city, 2.0 percent--from the city to the village and 6.5 percent--from village to village.

One of the main causes of the development of push-pull migration is the excess of the number of vacant work places in most cities of the republic over the manpower reserves available in them, as well as the economic, social, cultural and general influence of the city and the urban way of life on the rural population. The size of urban settlements, their transportation conditions and level of industrial development have the greatest

influence on the intensity of push-pull migration. The correlation coefficients between the intensity of push-pull migration and the given factors range from 0.4 to 0.59.

A survey of workers of the industrial enterprises and construction organizations of Kiev, who live outside it, was conducted to study the social peculiarities of labor migration. The selection of Kiev as the object of the study is explained by the fact that intensive push-pull migratory mobility is especially characteristic for cities of this type and their surrounding rayons. A questionnaire survey of the push-pull migrants from 36 rural centers of population, which are located in the zones of Kiev, as well as push-pull migrants and urban residents, who work at 140 industrial enterprises and 35 construction organizations of the city, was conducted during the study.

The survey showed that the proportion of migrants from rural centers of population among the entire population of able-bodied age ranges from 5.2 to 55.6 percent. Such differences are explained primarily by the conditions of the development of suburban transportation in Kiev Oblast.

A peculiarity of the contingent of migrants being analyzed is the quantitative predominance of men over women (respectively 63.1 and 36.9 percent). However, in a number of rural centers of population the number of men and women in the total number of migrants is approximately the same, while in some, which are located close to the place of work, even a predominance of women is observed. In the villages, where it takes 30-45 minutes to get to work, the women among the migrants make up 40 to 47 percent, while in the villages, where the expenditures of time are reduced to 25-30 minutes, they make up 50 percent or more.

According to the data of the survey, 30.9 percent of all the migrants are employed in the industry of Kiev, 25.3 percent in services, 22.9 percent in transportation, 14.6 percent in construction and 6.3 percent in other sectors of the national economy. The proportion of migrants in the total number of production personnel at industrial enterprises of the city is 11.1 percent, while at construction organizations it is 16.8 percent (see Table 1).

As is evident from Table 1, the proportion of migrants in the construction materials industry, light, the wood processing and the pulp and paper industries is especially hugh. On the whole in industry among the migrants the proportion of men is higher than the proportion of women, but at light industry enterprises women, on the contrary, make up the absolute majority (83.5 percent). The predominance of women is also observed in the chemical and food industries, which is connected with the nature of the works of these sectors.

It is important that the migrants are, as a rule, people of young or middle age: people from 20 to 40 years old make up among them more than 70 percent. The aspiration to acquire high skills, to increase the material and

cultural level and to improve housing conditions distinguishes this contingent. Migrants more than 40 years old make up 26.5 percent, of them only 2.0 percent are people more than 55 years old. It should be noted that the proportion of migrants up to the age of 30 in the total number of migrants employed at industrial enterprises and in construction considerably exceeds the proportion of urban residents of the same age.

Table 1

Proportion of Migrants in Main Sectors of Industry and in Construction of Kiev, Percent

Sectors of the national economy	Proportion of push-pull migrants in the total number of industrial workers engaged directly in production of urban enterprises and organizations	Men	Women
Industry	11.1	53.5	46.5
Including:			
machine building and metalworking	10.2	62.5	37.5
chemical industry	7.0	48.0	52.0
construction materials industry	11.6	76.3	23.7
food industry	10.1	49.3	50.7
wood processing and pulp and paper industry	12.0	50.0	50.0
light industry	15.8	16.5	83.5
power industry	9.0	81.0	19.0
Construction	16.8	78.1	21.9

As a rule, the migrants up to the age of 40 are employed in the machine building, light and pulp and paper industries. This indicates that young people strive to get work in those sectors of industry, in which there is a greater opportunity to acquire a technical specialty. The proportion of urban residents over 30 years old in the total number of city dwellers employed in industry and construction is greater than the proportion of migrants of the same ages. Consequently, a slight rejuvenation of the contingent of urban workers is taking place due to the migrants.

Nearly 50 percent of those surveyed have one child, while 35 percent have two. With expenditures of time on commuting from the place of residence to the place of work of up to 45 minutes the proportion of migrants, in whose family there are two children, is from 40 to 50 percent. With an increase of the time expenditures to an hour the proportion of migrants having two children decreases to 20 percent. As the data of the survey showed, parents of retirement age, in whose care the children are left, often live in the young families which take part in push-pull labor trips.

The survey attests to some limitation of the occupational opportunities of push-pull migrants, which forces them to take work places in those sectors of the economy, in which physical labor predominates and wages are low and which are not occupied by urban residents. This is connected with their lower skills level as compared with city workers. It was established that more than 60 percent of the workers taking part in push-pull migration have skills categories I-III, while about 70 percent of the working city residents have categories III-VI. Moreover, the migrants have a lower level of education. Thus, among the migrants employed in industry and construction the people having an incomplete secondary and an elementary education make up respectively 40.5 and 45.0 percent, while among working city residents they make up 28.1 and 20.9 percent; among the migrants having a higher, secondary specialized and secondary education in industry they make up 59.5 percent and in construction 55 percent, while among working city residents with the same level of education they make up respectively 71.9 and 79.1 percent (see Table 2).

Table 2

Distribution of Migrants and City Residents in Industry and Construction of Kiev Depending on the Level of Education, Percent

Level of education	Industry		Construction	
	push-pull migrants	city residents	push-pull migrants	city residents
Higher	2.9	7.3	5.1	9.8
Secondary specialized	8.5	11.9	9.4	12.6
Secondary general	48.1	52.7	40.5	56.7
Incomplete secondary	31.5	23.5	33.3	20.5
Elementary	9.0	4.6	11.7	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The majority of migrants having a higher and secondary specialized education are employed in machine building and metalworking, as well as in the food and chemical industries. In machine building and light industry more than 50 percent of the workers are people with a general secondary education. At the same time in such sectors of industry as the chemical, construction materials and food sectors, from 52.0 to 61.5 percent of the migrants do not have a complete secondary education.

However, the rural young people, who are aiming at a job in the city, are striving to increase the level of their knowledge and to acquire skills: 13.5 percent of those surveyed are presently studying at secondary and specialized educational institutions, about 15 percent are planning to study further.

As compared with city residents the migrants change the place of work more often, which is confirmed by the data of Table 3. In this case the people up to the age of 30, as a rule, with a secondary education give as the reason for their decision the change their place of work the aspiration to acquire practical skills and knowledge, combining work with studies. The

people over 30 years old explain the change of the place of work primarily by dissatisfaction with the amount of wages and the aspiration to increase the material level of their family.

Table 3

Distribution of Migrants and City Residents Depending on the Frequency of the Change of the Place of Work in the Past Five Years, Percent

Frequency of change of place of work	Migrants	City residents
Not once	66.6	87.8
Once	23.5	8.4
Twice	6.6	2.6
Three or more times	3.3	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0

The increased turnover of these contingents of workers during the first years of work in the city is fully explicable: having acquired some occupational skills at work and having received information on a more interesting and often higher paid job at another enterprise, the migrant leaves his former place of work.

The change of the place of work is closely connected with the indicator of the total work experience of migrants. Nearly half of the respondents (46 percent) have a total work experience of 11-20 years, 21.6 percent--5-10 years, 17.1 percent--over 20 years, 15.3 percent--up to 5 years. The highest turnover is observed among migrants with a total work experience of up to 5 years. It decreases as the total work experience and the length of service at the last enterprise increase.

A comparative analysis attests that city dwellers change their place of work less often: nearly a third of the city residents have worked at the same place for 15 years or more, while among the regular work force approximately 10 percent are migrants.

In spite of the fact that migrants change their place of work more often than city dwellers, the degree of satisfaction with it for both of them is approximately the same: among the former 67.2 percent are satisfied, 26.5 percent are dissatisfied and 6.3 percent did not give a definte answer; among the latter--respectively 65.5, 20.1 and 14.4 percent.

The reasons for dissatisfaction with a job of the former and the latter (see Table 4) vary with the age of the respondents. At a young age both migrants and city residents are first of all dissatisfied with the amount of wages, the low chances of getting an apartment, the lack of a job in their specialty or the impossibility of continuing their education. Migrants of middle and older age explain their dissatisfaction with a job first of all by the lack of prospects of development, travel fatigue, low wages and the poor organization of labor.

Table 4

Reasons for Dissatisfaction With a Job of Migrants and City Dwellers, Percent

Reasons for dissatisfaction with a job	Migrants	City residents
Travel fatigue	25.8	14.9
Few chances to get an apartment	24.3	29.4
Low wages	20.2	24.6
Lack of work in specialty	14.1	7.0
Poor organization of labor	7.1	7.9
Lack of prospects of development	3.6	7.7
Impossibility of continuing education	3.2	4.4
Poor relations in collective	1.8	4.1
Total	100.0	100.0

The level of wages is one of the factors determining the satisfaction with a job and with the social status as a whole. Questionnaire surveys attest that the average wage of city dwellers is approximately 20-30 percent higher than the wage of migrants. This is explained by the comparatively shorter length of service of the latter at the enterprises of the city, their lower skills and level of education. At the same time in the average monthly income of migrants there should be taken into account the proportion of the receipts from the private subsidiary sector, which in the families of kolkhoz farmers of suburban villages, which were surveyed, is on the average 30-50 percent.

The opinion, which was current until recently, that the most important cause of push-pull migration is the aspiration of rural inhabitants to get an apartment in the city, was not confirmed by the data of our survey. To the question: "Do you want to live in the suburban zone?" 67.2 percent of the respondents answered affirmatively, 27.2 percent expressed a definite desire to live in the city, 5.6 percent did not give a precise answer. Here 80-90 percent of those surveyed expressed the desire to live in a rural area with a half-hour commuting distance from the place of work. With an increase of the commuting time the proportion of those desiring to move to the city for permanent residence increases. Among the migrants who expressed the wish to live in a rural area, 73 percent want to have their own house with a private plot, and 62.4 percent give as the reason for their decision their love of nature, 11.8 percent cite family circumstances and other reasons.

As is known, the amount of free time is of great importance for evaluating the cultural level of life.

The data of Table 5 show that as compared with migrants, city residents have approximately 1.5- to 2-fold more free time. The considerable expenditures of time, which are connected with work in the private plot and travel to the place of work, create for migrants less favorable conditions

(as compared with city residents) for increasing their skills and visiting cultural and educational institutions.

Table 5

Distribution of Migrants and City Residents Depending on the Availability of Free Time, Percent

Free time, hours	Migrants	City residents
Less than 1	8.2	8.3
1	8.5	9.5
2	28.5	16.2
3	23.6	14.7
4	13.0	15.2
5	9.5	13.1
More than 5	8.7	23.0
Total	100.0	100.0

The study of the social character of workers who take part in push-pull migration attests to their substantial difference from working city dwellers. The knowledge of the social peculiarities of push-pull labor migration makes it possible to influence its development more effectively, to solve in a more substantiated way the problems of its regulation and forecasting depending on the need of a specific region for manpower resources.

FOOTNOTES

1. See V. G. Davydovich, "On Interdependent Settlement in Urban Agglomerations," "Gradostroitel'stvo. Rayonnaya planirovka" /Urban Development. Rayon Planning/, Kiev, 1967.

2. Henceforth as migrants.

3. At present more than 200,000 residents from suburban rayons daily come to work in Kiev.

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THE NATURE OF THE NONPRODUCTION ACTIVITY AND THE SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION OF CITY DWELLERS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 104-110

/Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor Ovsey Irmovich Shkaratan, Leningrad Institute of Finance Economics; Galina Vasil'yevna Yeremicheva, junior scientific staff member of the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Gennadiy Viktorovich Kanygin, junior scientific staff member of the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Irina Vadimovna Ryabikova, junior scientific staff member of the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF MODERN BOURGEOIS SOCIETY

WORKING STUDENTS IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC L.FE OF THE UNITED STATES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 111-120

/Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences Yevgeniy Ivanovich Kosenko, deputy chief of a department of the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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FACTS, COMMENTARIES, NOTES (FROM THE WORKTABLE OF THE SOCIOLOGIST)

SOME INDICATORS OF THE SOCIAL ACTIVENESS OF URBAN AND RURAL YOUNG PEOPLE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 121-122

/Article by V. Ye. Tomashkevich and S. I. Plaksiy/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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ON SOME FEATURES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION OF THE UZBEK SSR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 123-126

/Article by M. S. Dzhumusov/

/Text/ The formation of the social homogeneity of Soviet society is an important factor of the flourishing and convergence of the socialist nations. The main indicators of the way of life are determined by the achieved level of social development of the nation, which acquires general expression in the features of its social class structure.[1]

It is well known that the Uzbeks along with other peoples began the building of socialism, almost without having a detachment of industrial workers. The 1926 census established that in the structure of the employed population of the republic the workers of the indigenous nationality made up 4.6 percent, slightly more than in Kazakhstan (3 percent), Turkmenia (2 percent) and Kirgizia (1.2 percent), while among the employed Russian population (according to the data of 1939) 38.2 percent were workers.

In 1970 the proportion of workers (including those employed in agriculture) among the Russian population of the RSFSR was already 63 percent, while the analogous indicator for the indigenous population of Uzbekistan was about 43 percent. As we see, the gap has been reduced nearly sixfold. This process, which is typical of all regions of the USSR, has a number of peculiarities. The latter are caused along with other factors by the dynamics of the employment of the population in the national republics, which in turn is determined by the requirements of the all-union division of labor. In the process of rationalizing the territorial distribution of productive forces large territorial production complexes were formed and continue to be formed. However, the differences between the republics in the proportion of those engaged in industrial and agricultural labor have been reduced and, apparently, will continued to be reduced in the future. Thus, for a comprehensive evaluation of the level of development of the social structure of the individual Soviet nations and nationalities a number of other indicators are needed, including such indicators as social origin, the dynamics of the increase of the level of education, the intensity of international contacts, including the prevalence of international marriages.

The study of these problems was the goal of the empirical study of the population of the Uzbek SSR, which was made in 1975 under the direction of the author of this article.[2]

It is well known that the Uzbek population prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution retained specific traits of the precapitalist social class structure: the absolute predominance of the peasantry in the countryside and of small-scale proprietors in the cities, the lack (or near lack) of national detachments of the working class. As a result of the victory of the Soviet Government Uzbekistan bypassed the capitalist stage of development.

In this connection we were interested first of all in the social origin (as to the father) of the workers of the indigenous nationality in the Uzbek SSR[3] (see Table 1).

Table 1

Distribution of Uzbek Workers by Social Origin and Age, Percent

Years of birth of those surveyed	Social origin			
	from families of workers	from families of kolkhoz farmers (formerly peasants)	from families of specialists	from families of nonspecialist employees
1956-1959	47.9	25.0	20.9	6.2
1951-1955	48.2	20.3	21.3	10.2
1946-1950	42.9	31.6	19.1	6.4
1941-1945	36.3	49.0	7.4	7.4
1936-1940	35.1	49.1	3.5	12.3
1931-1935	34.4	57.3	2.7	5.6
1926-1930	27.5	52.1	6.2	4.2
1921-1925	27.0	56.9	5.3	10.8
Before 1921	9.8	85.4	1.6	3.2

The data of Table 1 show that with each new generation among Uzbeks the proportion of hereditary workers increased: in the group of those born before 1921 the workers who came from the families of workers made up less than 10 percent, in the groups of those born in 1926-1945--about one-third, in the groups of those born after 1950--about one-half. It should be noted that this trend is also characteristic for the industrially developed regions of the center of Russia.

Among the Uzbek workers born during the prewar years (1936-1940) the people from families of employees and specialists made up approximately one-seventh. Among the workers born in 1951-1955 there are slightly more of them. Among the workers born in 1956-1959 approximately one-fourth come from families of intellectuals and employees.

The results of the study show that the process of the social transfers into the ranks of the working class is more intensive among the indigenous population--the accelerated development of the Uzbek people along the path of social progress is conveyed in this.

Let us now examine the interrelationship between production skills, age and the level of education of the Uzbek workers (see Table 2).

Table 2

Dependence of Production Skills of Uzbek Workers on Their Age and Level of Education, Percent of Skills-Age Group of Uzbek Workers

Skills category	Year of birth	Education				
		Grades				Secondary specialized
		4	5-7	8-9	10	
5-6	Before 1936	31.9	40.4	10.6	4.3	4.3
	1936-1945	6.3	22.9	25.0	25.0	14.6
	1946-1959	0	0	20.0	36.0	28.0
3-4	Before 1936	35.1	32.4	16.0	8.1	0
	1936-1945	5.0	43.7	31.3	17.5	2.5
	1946-1959	0	3.5	23.7	55.3	9.6
1-2	Before 1936	58.2	21.8	9.1	3.6	1.6
	1936-1945	9.1	56.1	7.6	21.2	3.0
	1946-1959	0	2.7	27.0	55.9	9.9

The data of Table 2 show that among Uzbek workers born after 1946 there are actually no people with an elementary education, while in the group of highly skilled and average skilled workers born before 1936 about one-third are such people and among low skilled workers--nearly three-fifths. About half of the young Uzbek workers of categories 1-4 (years of birth of 1946-1959) have a complete secondary education. With time they will reinforce the contingent of highly skilled workers, in which the graduates of the 10th grade for the present make up approximately one-third (36 percent). A considerable share of the workers born in 1936-1945 have an incomplete secondary education: among average skilled workers 75.0 percent are such, among low skilled workers--63.7 percent.

As was already noted, the number of international marriages is one of the indicators which reflect the change in the social structure of the population of the republic. When analyzing the corresponding data, it is necessary to take into account the proportion of the population of the indigenous nationality in the region being studied. Thus, in some republics this indicator fluctuates within the range of 81-89 percent (Belorussia,

Armenia), in others--33-44 percent (Kazakhstan, Kirgizia). In the RSFSR in Orenburgskaya Oblast the Russian population is 71.8 percent, in Astrakhanskaya Oblast--75.5 percent, in Vladimirskaya Oblast--97 percent, in Yaroslavskaya Oblast--97.5 percent, in Ryazanskaya Oblast--97.9 percent. Owing to objective, historically established circumstances the population of these republics and oblasts has been placed under different conditions with respect to the actual possibilities of international contacts and, consequently, the contracting of marriages.

A coefficient of international contact which makes it possible to examine the number of international marriages depending on the possibilities of interpersonal contacts of representatives of different nations, who live in the same region, is being introduced to take these differences into account. The coefficient is calculated with the observance of the following conditions: 1) the representatives of the different nationalities are distributed more or less uniformly among labor collectives and the place of residence in the given region; 2) there are no language barriers; 3) the groups of different nationalities do not have sharp differences in social, demographic and educational structures; 4) the survivals of the national way of life, as well as the religious and nationalistic survivals do not have a significant influence on the contacts of people of different nationalities. It was calculated that in 1970 the coefficient of international contact for Uzbekistan was 0.506, the city of Bekabad--0.735, the Bekabad Metallurgical Plant--0.730.

The calculation of the coefficient of international contact of the population[4] of the union republics, which was made according to the results of the 1970 All-Union Census, made it possible to typologize the republic according to this attribute. As a result the following zones were distinguished, which differ according to the degree of intensity of international contact: 1) the zones of greatest intensity--Kazakhstan and Kirgizia (for 1970 the coefficient, which was calculated with allowance made for the proportion of the nationalities constituting up to 5 percent of the population of the republic, was equal to 0.691 for the Kazakh SSR and 0.685 for the Kirgiz SSR); 2) the zones of comparatively great intensity--Tadzhikistan (0.609), Latvia (0.569), Moldavia (0.540), Turkmenia (0.528); 3) the zones of an average level of contact of the nationalities--Georgia (0.514), Uzbekistan (0.506), Estonia (0.469), Azerbaijan (0.431), the Ukraine (0.397), Lithuania (0.338), Belorussia (0.326); 4) the level of contact of nationalities in Armenia is relatively low--0.208 (the Armenian population makes up 88.6 percent).

Our study confirmed the conclusion: as the survivals of the national way of life and religion are overcome, the tendency toward an increase of marriages between representatives of nationalities, which previously differed sharply in the style of life, is intensified.

The study of the complicated social process of the convergence of the Soviet nations requires further work on the development of an integral system of social indicators which reflect precisely enough the stages and dynamics of

of this process and make it possible to identify the basic laws and to give valid forecasts of its development for the immediate and distant future.

FOOTNOTES

1. See M. S. Dzhunusov, "On Some National Peculiarities of the Way of Life Under the Conditions of Socialism," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 2, 1975, p 62.

2. Ye. D. Igitkhanyan, L. G. Gaft, N. D. Chepul'skiy, L. P. Verevkin and Ya. Z. Garipov took part in developing the questionnaire; instructors of the Chair of Philosophy of Tashkent, Fergana and Khorezmskaya pedagogical institutes took part in distributing the questionnaire; F. E. Sheregi took part in developing the sample of the study. The research design, program and assignment for computer processing were compiled by the author of this article, the computer processing was carried out under the direction of N. I. Rostegayeva.

3. The standard of representation of each enterprise in the sampled population was determined in proportion to the share of workers in the total population.

4. On the methodological validity of the coefficient of international contact see the author's articles in the collection "K 60-letiyu raboty V. I. Lenina 'Statistika i sotsiologiya'" /On the 60th Anniversary of V. I. Lenin's Work "Statistics and Sociology"/ (Moscow, 1977, pp 16-21) and in the collection "Metodologicheskiye i metodicheskiye problemy primeneniya statistiki v sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniyakh" /Methodological and Methods Problems of Using Statistics in Sociological Research/ (Moscow, 1978, pp 49-55).

   The coefficient of international contact in general form appears as follows: $Q_{MH} = \sum(1-\Pi_1)\Pi_1 + (1-\Pi_2)\Pi_2 + (1-\Pi_3)\Pi_3$, where Π_1 is the percentage of the first nationality in the population, Π_2 is that of the second nationality, Π_3 is that of the third nationality and so on.

   This coefficient can be used for measuring the level of internationality of labor collectives. It is interesting to note how the coefficient of internationality of the collective of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant in Naberezhnyye Chelny changed: in 1974--0.454, 1975--0.470, 1976--0.478, 1977--0.500, 1978--0.545, which reflects the process of the intensification of the influx of Tatar workers and workers of other nationalities into the collective of motor vehicle makers.

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INFLUENCE OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION ON THE SECONDARY AND HIGHER SCHOOL

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 127-128

/Article by I. S. Bolotin/

/Text/ The training of specialists with a higher education to a considerable extent depends on the influence of demographic factors. It will begin to appear especially vividly at the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan as a result of the decrease of the number of secondary school students, which stems from the process of the decline of the level of the birth rate in a number of regions of the country.

For approximately two decades (from the mid-1930's to the mid-1950's) the number of those admitted to the higher school corresponded to the number of graduates of secondary general educational schools. Thus, in 1940 the number students who graduated from the 10th grade was 303,000, while the number of admissions to the first year of higher educational institutions was more than 263,000,[1] that is, the secondary school "worked" for the higher school.

In the mid-1950's the situation changed. In 1953 the number of graduates from the complete secondary school was 579,000, while the admission of students to the first year of higher educational institutions was 431,000. In two years the number of graduates increased to 1,247,000, while admissions increased to only 461,000,[2] that is, the number of graduates of the complete secondary school began to exceed by nearly threefold the number of students who enrolled in the first year of higher educational institutions. Subsequently the gap between the number of graduates from secondary school and the admissions to the higher school, as a rule, was maintained; the competition for admission to higher educational institutions became stiffer and stiffer. Today the situation is changing anew: the competition is gradually decreasing. This circumstance is caused by the increased demand of the national economy for workers with a secondary (general and specialized) education, the reorientation of some young people from a higher education toward secondary vocactional and technical education and specialized education. Moreover, the decrease of the number of secondary school students and an increase of the able-bodied population will begin to tell at the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

The decrease of the number of school children at present is typical first of all of the lower grades. Thus, whereas the number of pupils of the 4th-8th grades of general educational schools from 1965 to 1977 decreased by 1.6 million, the number of pupils of the 1st-3d grades decreased by 2.7 million.[3] The consequences of this process will begin to tell on vocational education at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th Five-Year Plans. It should be recalled that many boys and girls receive a secondary education at vocational and technical schools and secondary specialized educational institutions, therefore on the whole there are more graduates with a secondary education than graduates of the 10th (11th) grade of the day general educational school.

A systematic increase of admissions to educational institutions which give a secondary specialized and higher education has also been observed in recent years.

The development of the forms of secondary education depends on a number of factors: the level of industrial development of the region, the balance of manpower resources, the birth rate and others, which are closely interrelated. In the more developed industrial regions the demand for skilled manpower is higher, while the birth rate and, consequently, the replenishment of manpower resources are lower than in regions which are less developed industrially. Therefore in the former, as a rule, educational institutions, at which young people at the same time as receiving a general education learn a profession, are widespread. Thus, whereas during the 1977/78 school year for the RSFSR as a whole 14.5 percent of the 8th grade graduates continued their education at vocational and technical school, in Leningrad Oblast their proportion was more than 30 percent.[4]

The increase of admissions to vocational educational institutions, both secondary and higher, is taking place rapidly. From 1975 to 1977 alone the admissions to higher educational institutions, secondary specialized educational institutions on the basis of a complete secondary educational school and technical schools increased from 2,077,000 to 2,343,000. This situation will apparently be maintained in subsequent years.

Thus, on the average, the competition for day departments of higher educations institutions has decreased from 269 application per 100 vacancies in 1970 to 255 in 1975. For the group of higher educational institutions which train specialists for industry this ratio is equal to 232 and 203, transportation--235 and 228, communications--212 and 196. Accordingly at health care institutes the competition of the school leavers increased from 278 applications per 100 places to 302, physical culture and sports--from 218 to 227, art and cimenatography--from 319 to 407.

Whereas the decrease or increase of the competition for admission to the higher educational institutions of different republics is connected first of all with the demographic factor, the change of the orientation of young people toward the different specializations of higher educational institutions requires special study. Some researchers suggest that the increase

of the number of those who desire to enroll in higher educational institutions of the humanities is explained by the weakening of the mathematical training of pupils. However, this thesis is very debatable: the decline of interest in the study of mathematics is also the consequence of some causes. It can also be presumed that such a factor as the narrowness of humanitarain education at secondary educational institutions with the systematic increase in the interest in it on the part of young people, plays a significant role in this process.

Under the conditions of the narrowing of the demographic basis of the fresh blood of higher educational institutions and the broadening of the opportunity for studying at technical schools and secondary specialized educational institutions the social significance of the formation of the student body increases appreciably. The difficulty of choosing the most capable candidates also increases. The accomplishment of this task requires the complete consideration of the circumstances and their thorough study.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Narodnoye obrazovaniye, nauka i kul'tura v SSSR" /Public Education, Science and Culture in the USSR/, Moscow, 1977, pp 93, 247.

2. Ibid.

3. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1977 g." /The USSR National Economy in 1977/, Moscow, 1978, pp 488, 489; "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR za 60 let" /The USSR National Economy After 60 Years/, Moscow, 1977, p 578.

4. "Sbornik prikazov i instruktsiy Ministerstva prosveshcheniya RSFSR" /A Collection of Orders and Instructions of the RSFSR Ministry of Education/, Moscow, 1978, No 24, p 17.

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THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY AND THE SOCIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL SHIFTS OF PARENTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 129-131

/Article by V. I. Lukina/

/Text/ In the article an attempt is made to determine the direction and nature of the interrelationship between the number of children in the family and the social and occupational shifts of spouses.[1]

The main analytical attributes of the married respondents are singled out: the number of children in the family (childless, 1, 2, 3, 4 and more children), age (19-30, 30-45, 45-60 years old) and the change in the social and occupational status of each spouse since the conclusion of the marriage to the day of the survey. The last indicator was determined by the following partially ordered scale which reflects the content of the labor of the respondent:

1. Workers of unskilled, primarily physical labor.

2. Workers of skilled, primarily physical labor.

3. Workers of highly skilled, primarily physical labor.

4. Workers of skilled, primarily nonphysical labor (employees), who occupy a position which does not require a specialized education.

5. Workers primarily of mental labor (employees), who occupy a position which requires a secondary specialized education.

6. Managers of small production collectives.

7. Workers of mental labor (employees), who occupy a position which requires a higher education.

8. Workers of highly skilled mental labor.

9. Managers of large (more than 200 people) production collectives.

The change in the social and occupation status was established as a shift of the respondents from one group to another.

A calculation of the average annual proportion of the people who increased their social and occupational status from the moment of the contracting of the marriage to the moment of the survey was made in order to eliminate the influence of the length of marriage on the indicator being studied. If we judge from the data on the occupational shifts of spouses over the entire period of marriage, among men a close connection is observed between the increase of the number of children and the frequency of shifts. If we analyze the average annual number of respondents who increased their social and occupational status, it turns out that this connection is unstable and quite weak (see Table 1).

Table 1

Number of Respondents Who Increased Their Social and Occupational Status on the Average in a Year of Marriage, Percent

Sex and age	Presence of children in the family				
	None	1 child	2 children	3 children	4 and more children
Men					
19-30 years old	7.33	3.62	3.64	--	--
30-45 years old	2.62	2.03	2.09	2.10	2.15
45-60 years old	0.99	1.17	1.27	1.31	1.36
Women					
19-30 years old	8.05	3.82	2.19	--	--
30-45 years old	2.45	2.03	1.63	1.30	0.68
45-60 years old	0.81	1.16	0.81	0.73	0.66

Thus, among men no significant connection is observed between the number of children and the increase of their social and occupational status. Among women a stable trend is noticeable--the more children they have, the lower the indicators of occupational advancement are.

It is interesting to compare the data on the increase of the social and occupational status for spouses with a different number of children. In families in which there are no children or one child, the indicators of social and occupational advancement for men and women are approximately the same, and for women 19-30 years old they are even higher than for men of the same age. In families with two and more children the women increase their occupational level less intensively than the men. In families with four and more children the average annual proportion of men 30-45 years old, who increased their social and occupation status, is 3.2-fold greater than the proportion of women of the same age. Among childless spouses 19-30 years old the intensity of the increase of the social and occupational status is higher than among spouses with children.

In a socialist society the realization of the possibilities of increasing one's social status, general and vocational education and skills, all other things being equal, depends on the distribution of nonworking time. The household concerns in the family fall mainly on the shoulders of women, reducing the expenditures of time on relaxation and occupational development. Housework cuts almost in half the amount of free time for women as compared with men.[2]

The individual types of changes in occupational status, which are connected with social transfers from the groups of workers and nonspecialist employees to the groups of specialists employed in positions requiring a secondary specialized or higher education, are of particular interest (see Table 2). The greatest number of these transfers are observed among men and women 19-30 years old, who do not have children. The number of children in the family, as in the preceding case, has also no influence on the social transfers of men, among women this connection is traced quite distinctly. Of the surveyed childless women 30-45 years old, 3.19 percent (in average annual indicators) had shifted to the group of specialists, while among mothers having three children the number of specialists decreased to one-sixth.

Table 2

Number of Respondents Who Had Shifted From the Groups of Workers and Nonspecialist Employees to the Group of Specialists Who Are Employed in Positions Requiring a Higher or Secondary Specialized Education, on the Average in a Year of Marriage, Percent

Sex and age	Presence of children in the family				
	None	1 child	2 children	3 children	4 and more children
Men					
19-30 years old	4.70	3.06	3.27	--	--
30-45 years old	1.49	1.22	1.28	1.34	1.44
45-60 years old	0.55	0.63	0.75	0.79	0.82
Women					
19-30 years old	3.10	3.02	1.54	--	--
30-45 years old	3.19	1.95	1.06	0.53	--
45-60 years old	0.62	0.84	0.42	0.27	0.19

In addition to the shifts connected with the increase of the social and occupational level of the worker, the opposite process is also observed--a shift to less skilled labor. The indicators of the decline of occupational status among men in families with three children are lower than in families with one child, for women it is the other way round (see Table 3). In families with four and more children on the average 1.33 percent of all women 45-60 years old annually shift to less skilled labor. It is necessary to note that, according to the data of the survey, the greatest percentage of those who shifted to less skilled labor is observed among men 19-30 years old, who have one child, as well as among women of the same age, who do not

have children. The question of the interpretation of these data remains open.

Table 3

Number of Respondents Who Shifted to Less Skilled Labor, on the Average in a Year of Marriage, Percent

Sex and age	Presence of children in the family				
	None	1 child	2 children	3 children	4 and more children
Men					
19-30 years old	1.57	2.29	0.73	--	--
30-45 years old	0.56	0.59	0.49	0.23	--
45-60 years old	0.35	0.55	0.38	0.37	--
Women					
19-30 years old	2.14	1.48	1.75	--	--
30-45 years old	0.22	0.69	0.69	0.77	--
45-60 years old	0.42	0.29	0.59	0.82	1.33

The results of the empirical study make it possible once again to confirm the conclusion: there are some contradictions between the occupational sphere and the family and everyday sphere. The great prestige of the working woman, which has formed in Soviet society, the still inadequate development of services, the need for great expenditures of time on keeping house--these and other factors govern the predominance of the orientation of the urban population toward a single- or two-child family, since the number of children in the family is a significant factor which limits the occupational opportunities of spouses and first of all women.

FOOTNOTES

1. The study was conducted in the city of Kazan' by the Sector of the Social Development of Cities and Regions of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences (O. I. Shkaratan, director of the theme) jointly with the Chair of Statistics of the Leningrad Institute of Finance Economics imeni N. A. Voznesenskiy (E. K. Vasil'yeva, head of the chair). The method and organization of the survey were set forth in the article: O. I. Shkaratan, V. O. Rukavishnikov, "Social Strata in the Class Structure of Socialist Society," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANOYA, No 2, 1977.

2. See A. E. Kotlyar, S. Ya. Turchaninova, "Zanyatost' zhenshchin v proizvodstve" /The Employment of Women in Production/, Moscow, 1975, p 109.

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THE JUVENILE DELINQUENT AND HIS FAMILY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 132-134

/Article by N. G. Yurkevich/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806

THE JOURNAL AND THE INFORMATION NEEDS OF SOCIOLOGISTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 135-139

/Article by L. N. Kryuchkova and V. A. Cherednichenko/

/Text/ In the five years which have passed since the appearance of the first issue, the circulation of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA has tripled--from 3,000 to 8,955 copies, while the number of headings has increased from 8-9 in the first issues to 14-15 in the latest. Back in the first issue in 1974 in the editorial "The Development of Sociological Research in the USSR and the Tasks of the Journal" the editorial board set as its primary tasks the dissemination of scientific and methods know-how, the increase of the ideological and theoretical level of research, as well as the exercise by the means of the journal of the ideological function of Marxist sociological science.

In practice the journal touches upon a much wider range of problems. The informational aspect of its activity (what it reports to the reader and what role it performs in the organization of sociological research) is of great importance. On this level the study of the attitude of readers toward the journal and the analysis of how adequately it realizes their expectations are of great interest. The data of a survey by mail of the sociologists of the country on the backing of their work with information served as a basis for this analysis.[1] The people surveyed were staff members of academic institutes (22.5 percent), the institutions of sectorial ministries (31.2 percent), the system of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education (34.1 percent), the sociological subdivisions in the system of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations (2.1 percent); the departmental affiliation of the organization was not indicated in 10.9 percent of the questionnaires. The scientific status of the respondents in rough outline reflects, in our opinion, the skills structure of the scientific

1. The survey was conducted by staff members of the Sector of Information and the Coordination of Sociological Research of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Science in the summer of 1978. They sent out 2,400 questionnaires to 296 sociological centers of the country. The percentage of return was less than the expectations of the authors of the study--616 questionnaires were received.

personnel at the major sociological centers of the country: 3.1 percent are doctors of sciences, 27.9 percent are candidates of sciences, 65.1 percent are researchers without a degree; there is no data on 3.9 percent of the respondents. It should be noted that 35.1 percent of those surveyed had a length of service in the field of sociology of 7 or more years and 26.6 had a length of service of 4-6 years. The geographical distribution was as follows (see the table).

Name of geographic center or region	Moscow	Leningrad	Novosibirsk	Volga River region	Urals	Siberia
Percent of number of respondents*	14.1	6.5	1.8	10.4	7.8	2.4

Name of geographic center or region	Caucasus region	Other regions of the RSFSR	Baltic republics	Belorussia	Ukraine
Percent of number of respondents*	5.5	5.4	10.2	3.2	10.5

Name of geographic center or region	Moldavia	Transcaucasia (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan)	Central Asia+ Kazakhstan
Percent of number of respondents*	0.6	8.5	4.7

*No data on 0.3 percent of the questionnaires.

Thus, the actual sampled population makes it possible to draw reliable conclusions.[2]

Particular attention was devoted to 152 questionnaires, in which the respondents set forth their wishes with respect to the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. The role of the journal in the information service of sociologists is attested by the fact that among the respondents 67.5 percent use it as a basic source of information.

The data of the survey were compared with the results of the analysis of the materials published in the journal.[3]

We distinguished the following groups of publications: 1) articles of a theoretical and methodological nature; 2) the discussion of methods studies and the tools aspect of research; 3) the results of empirical research; 4) information of a reference and coordinational nature.

The largest number of publications (227) belong to the fourth group. Of them 139 are of the nature of secondary (in the sense of the analysis of

2. The question of the representativeness of the data is not examined.

3. It seemed expedient to take into account the number of publications, and not their size.

publications) information--these are the materials of the headings "Books in Brief," "Criticism and Bibliography," "Thoughts on a New Book," which contain information to a considerable extent of a reference and analytical nature: who studied what, where it was published, what rating this work merits.

The journal published just as frequently articles on theoretical and methodological aspects of sociological research (201), on the experience of foreign Marxists, the criticism of the concepts of bourgeois sociologists (47 publications), as well as on the state of sociological research in one sphere of another, on the link of sociological science with practice (34 articles). The materials of this group attest to the increasing reflection of sociological science and to its study of the problems of its own development.

The articles, which contain the results of empirical studies (119), which are united by thematic selections (for example, "Sociological Problems of Labor and Labor Collectives," "Sociological Problems of Young People") and the materials of the headings "From the Worktable of the Sociologist," "Fact, Commentaries, Notes" and "Applied Research," form the next large group.

The articles on methods studies and the experimental aspect of sociological research are much less numerous (48)

The following are the most regular headings in the journal: criticism and bibliography (in all 18 issues), scientific life (in 17), methods and techniques of sociological research (17), theoretical problems of sociological research (15), the criticism of modern bourgeois sociology (15) and, starting in 1975, "From the Worktable of the Sociologist" (12). It is evident that these headings are distributed relatively uniformly among the groups distinguished by us and serve as a kind of "pivot" of the journal.

The results of the conducted survey show that on the whole the journal reflects the information needs of sociologists. At the same time it was ascertained that the majority of respondents consider the reference function as the most important function of the journal: 62 out of the 152 indicated the desirability of reports in the journal about the research being performed (who is doing what and where), moreover, 36 questionnaires contained wishes to the journal as a source of scientific and organizational information (annotations of the dissertations defended at the Institution of Sociological Research and the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow State University and in Novosibirsk; reports on conferences which are being planned and have been held).

And although in the journal under the headings "Scientific Life" and "Scientific Chronicle" reports are published on conferences and round table meetings which have been held (we have noted 80 materials of this type, or 13 percent of the total number of publications in 5 years), in the opinion of the respondents this is inadequate.

Many expect to find in the journal information on sociological centers, the themes of their work, the participants in the research, some methods and technical aspects of the work. This suggestion is formulated in different ways: to insert announcements like "Organization X is conducting (planning) research...," to introduce the heading "At the Sociological Centers of the Country," to publish surveys of the works of researchers by regions or sections of the Soviet Sociological Association.

The suggestion to introduce the heading "We Will Conduct a Joint Study on the Theme...," "We Can Suggest..." is of interest. This appeal for the development of cooperation, for the practical realization of the urgent need to coordinate sociological research in the country, to organize and expand business contacts between sociologists and to utilize financial, technical and human resources more effectively is very symptomatic.

By developing an extensive system of notification the journal could act as the organizer of cooperation among sociologists and could promote the overcoming of duplication and work on minor themes. The practical importance of solving the problem of coordinating research is obvious, especially when taking into account the departmental isolation and geographical separation of sociologists from each other, the inadequate number of copies of the publications of the Soviet Sociological Association and the lack of a specialized information center for sociology. The situation is also being complicated by the fact that the contacts of most sociologists with their colleagues have been poorly organized (40 percent of the respondents have contacts with only one or two organizations, while another 17 percent do not have such contacts at all).

As the analysis shows, theoretical and methodological problems of sociology enjoy ample attention of the editorial board of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA: this is attested both by the actual number of publications (120 articles out of 596 in 5 years) and by the fact that a request to increase the number of these materials is encountered in only 2 of the 152 questionnaires. Approximately the same number of articles of the journal (119) contain reports on the results of studies on various themes. However, this is inadequate: those who responded to our questionnaire (616 people) and, in particular, those who expressed desires to the journal (58 out of 152 people) not only support the publication of materials of this type, but also count on an increase of their number. Many especially note the positive importance of thematic selections (for example, "Social Problems of Labor and Collectives," No 2, 1978, "Sociological Problems of Young People," No 3, 1977, and No 5, 1978).

During the survey a different appraisal of reference and coordination information (simply notification) and of information on the results of studies (a more detailed, meaningful acquaintance with the work of colleagues) was ascertained, which attests to the "utilitarian" approach of a considerable share of the sociologists to the journal, the aspiration first of all to adopt know-how, to learn something, to use already gained knowledge in their own specific work. Precisely the articles in journals and anthologies are

the quickest means of becoming acquainted with methods developments and the results of empirical research. In particular, when developing sets of tools researchers turn first of all to articles (51 percent of the respondents in our country), and then to books and monographs (42 percent). Information of an instrumental nature can be obtained only at a specialized information center, hence the just aspiration of sociologists to obtain from the journal consultative and methods assistance and information on the work experience of the leading scholars of the country, which promotes an increase of the level of the research being conducted in the country and the quality of sociological information.

In striving to increase the methods level of sociological research, the editorial board of the journal in 5 years has published 45 articles on the methods aspects of sociological research. The problems of the vocational training of sociologists are discussed and material to help those studying Marxist-Leninist sociology and, in particular, plant sociologists is set forth in another 17 publications. Moreover, the methods aspects are reflected in the materials on the results of empirical research (in thematic selections, in the headings "From the Worktable of the Sociologist" and "Applied Research"). The journal also fulfills this function indirectly in that it carefully selects the material being published and thereby sets the level of the rating of the quality of the sociological information and forms in the reader a idea about the standard study and the skilled work of the sociologist.

The selection of authors also attests to the demandingness of the editorial board on the quality of the materials being published. Academicians, corresponding members and doctors of sciences published articles 127 times (31.3 percent), candidates of sciences--153 times (37.7 percent), specialists without a degree--126 times (31 percent). It is evident that the overwhelming majority of authors are experienced and highly skilled specialists, which is also confirmed by the job composition of the authors: 49 percent of the total number of those published are directors of enterprises and institutions, heads of chairs, laboratories and sectors, and another 27 percent are senior scientific staff members. Ordinary sociologists, whose research and developments are notable for a high level of execution, are also published in the journal: 7 percent of the total number of authors are postgraduate students and competitors for degrees, while 17 percent are junior scientific staff members. But it is necessary to note that a very large percent of the authors of the journal are Muscovites: 80 percent among the doctors and academicians, 69 percent among the candidates of sciences and 70 percent among the specialists without a degree. Such a "shift" at times leads to the inadequate consideration of the interests of peripheral sociological centers and evokes dissatisfaction with the materials of the journal on the level of the reflection of their specific nature and peculiarities. However, it is difficult to accept without reservation the desires of a comparatively small group of respondents on the enlargement of the contingent of authors, the more frequent publication of the staff members of peripheral sociological subdivisions, as well as specialists without a degree, since not the place of residence of the author, but the quality of the material

being offered should be the criterion of the selection of articles and, consequently, the preference of materials on the part of the editorial board.

It should be noted that not all the desires to the journal were addressed precisely to the right quarter, but they do reveal information needs, the satisfaction of which the journal could promote as one of the types of specialized sociological information service. In this sense the suggestion of the respondents to publish in the journal materials on automated information systems and on the use of computers in sociological for the purpose of improving the information support of sociological research is significant.

The automation of information activity by using computers seems to many respondents to be the most effective method of solving the problem and a means of increasing the level of information service. Of the respondents 83 percent consider it necessary to set up a unified center of sociological information in the country. But in the responses to the question "What can you suggest for the improvement of the information support of the sociologists of your organization?" the suggestion about the development of an automated information system in sociology was in second place after the suggestion about the centralization and coordination of sociological research. This confirms the urgency and timeliness of the work on the designing and development of a sociological data bank, which was begun at the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Therefore, the suggestion about the introduction of the heading "Automated Control Systems and Sociology" in the journal would also seem timely and would make it possible to solve many problems of an organizational and methods nature when designing the sociological data bank. In turn, this would make it possible to determine more precisely the group of functions of the journal on informing sociologists of the country and to concentrate its efforts on the most urgent problems and the tasks characteristic of it.

In generalized the stated desires, it is necessary to point out that some of them are of a "traditional" nature: do the same thing, only more, more often, more rapidly, better. Another, larger portion of the desires are of a transformational nature: introduce new headings, direct attention to..., correct the situation.... It is noteworthy that on the whole the journal is working in practice in the directions which the analysis of the desires of the reading audience reveals. However, the "load" on some directions is different in the assessments of the journal and the readers: the journal considers primary the dissemination of scientific sociological information, while the readers are demanding that more information of a coordinational nature be given in the form of surveys, announcements, lists and reports. At the same time there is noted a coincidence of the notions of the journal and the reading audience on the importance of methods materials and the improvement of the skills of researchers for the development of sociology in the country.

In conclusion we would like to cite several statements of our colleagues, which can be brought up for discussion among the readers: the reduction of

the amount of materials in the journal, which can be read in other general theoretical journals; to acquaint the readers more with the work of regional sociological centers, individual organizations, to discuss debatable questions more frequently; to print some more programs of research with the subsequent comparison of the obtained data for various regions of the country, to introduce the heading "Questions and Answers," to print periodically as an appendix a "terminological dictionary of the sociologist," to report on the methods materials available at organizations, which can be used in work.

The analysis of the suggestions of sociologists, which were addressed to the journal, revealed a great interest of the researchers in the further increase of the quality of its work.

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TO THE AID OF THE PLANT SOCIOLOGIST

THE PROCESSING OF SOCIOLOGICAL INFORMATION IN THE UNIFIED SYSTEM OF ELECTRONIC COMPUTERS (SECOND ARTICLE)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 140-153

/Article by V. G. Bryutvin and V. F. Sklyarov/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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MARXIST SOCIOLOGY ABROAD

NOTES ON SOCIOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND PRACTICE IN THE GDR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 154-161

/Article by B. K. Lisin/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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CRITICISM OF BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY

REALISM AND NOMINALISM IN THE HISTORY OF BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 162-169

/Article by I. A. Golosenko/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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FOR A CRITIQUE OF NORMATIVE DETERMINISM IN MODERN BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 170-177

/Article by L. A. Katrik/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL REVOLUTION AND MODERN BOURGEOIS UTOPIAS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 178-184

/Article by Ye. V. Pushkina/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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SCIENTIFIC JOURNALISM

FASCIST MYTHS AND THEIR MODERN INTERPRETATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 185-193

/Article by A. V. Fedotov and M. N. Filatov/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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SCIENTIFIC LIFE

THE 11TH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 194-198

/Article by G. S. Genin/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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ALL-UNION CONFERENCE OF WORKERS OF VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 198-202

/Article by N. P. Solov'yev/

/Text/ The Communist Party has devoted and is devoting much attention to the education of young people, their moral training, spiritual and cultural development and the training of skilled young workers in conformity with the growing requirements of the national economy.

In the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Congress it was stated that "a communist education presumes the constant improvement of the system of public education and vocational training. This is especially important now under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. It imparts a different nature than before to labor and, perhaps, to the training of the person of labor."[1] In our country the system of vocational and technical education, which includes 6,892 schools and in which 3.5 million people are studying, has been created and developed extensively. During the Ninth Five-Year Plan and three years of the 10th Five-Year Plan alone 16 million skilled workers were trained in the system of vocational and technical education.[2]

The 25th party congress advanced the task of ensuring the training of highly skilled workers from among young people for all the sectors of the national economy first of all at secondary vocational and technical schools, as well as at technical schools.[3] Such a task is facing vocational and technical education for the first time.

The implementation of the congress decisions presumes an increase during the five-year plan of the admission of students to secondary vocational and technical schools and to technical schools by more than twofold. It is planned to graduate from the schools approximately 11 million skilled workers.[4]

The Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers "On the Further Improvement of the Process of Educating and Training Students of the System of Vocational and Technical Education," which was adopted in

August 1977, was a new expression of the constant attention of the party to the activity of vocational and technical schools. The course of the fulfillment of the tasks advanced by the decree and the questions of the further improvement of the training of skilled workers were discussed at the All-Union Conference of Workers of Vocational and Technical Education, which was held in Moscow on 20-22 June 1979.

The gains made by the Soviet vocational and technical school and its role in the provision of the national economy with a regular skilled labor force, in the implementation of a universal secondary education and in the communist education of young people were noted in the report of the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education and in the speeches of the conference participants. The speakers spoke about the great changes which are occurring in our times in the system of workers' education and about the increased authority of vocational and technical schools.

USSR Minister of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises N. V. Goldin said: "We are proud of the fact that the backbone of highly skilled workers in Moscow is the graduates of vocational and technical educational institutions.... Personnel with a high vocational training come to the USSR Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises mainly from vocational and technical schools. Therefore our main line in this important matter is the further development and consolidation of the educational base of vocational and technical education."

Hero of Socialist Labor and USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy D. G. Galkin, director of the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine imeni V. I. Lenin, stressed that the labor feats of the famous Magnitka are inseparably connected with the activity of the graduates of the system of vocational and technical education. The collective of the combine is annually reinforced by 1,600 skilled workers, the graduates of base institutions.

Under the conditions of mature socialism the system of vocational and technical education is becoming one of the important factors of the economic growth of the country, the increase of the cultural and technical level of the working class and the peasantry, the increase of the social homogeneity of Soviet society and the all-round improvement of the socialist way of life.

The creation and extensive development of secondary vocational and technical schools are a major achievement which is of great political and social importance. This form of training affords young people an opportunity to acquire simultaneously an occupation and a complete secondary education and promotes their familiarization with productive labor and the growth of communist consciousness. The principle of combining training with productive labor is used at secondary vocational and technical schools.

As was indicated in the report of the State Committe for Vocational and Technical Education, 10 years ago there were 140 secondary vocational and technical schools in the country, while now there are 3,676. About

2 million people are studying at them. During the past three years of the current five-year plan alone more than 960 new secondary schools were opened, while the number of workers to graduate from them increased 2.2-fold. Secondary schools have become leading educational institutions of the system of vocational and technical education.

Secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Committee of the CPSU V. G. Zakharov, Director of the Grain Sovkhoz imeni Shcherbakov of Kustanayskaya Oblast V. S. Bogdanov and other speakers emphasized that the graduates of secondary vocational and technical schools have a high vocational training, in a comparatively short time become leaders and innovators of labor. According to the data of sociological studies, they increase their skills category considerably more rapidly than their coevals, who acquire an occupation under production conditions. A great interest in rationalization and the development of inventions distinguishes the graduates of these schools, they take an active part in social and political life, many are successfully continuing their education at higher educational institutions.

The expansion of the network of technical schools, at which the graduates of secondary general educational schools acquire a working profession, is an important direction of the development of vocational and technical education. At present 1,097 such schools are in operation. During the five-year plan the admissions to them have increased approximately 2.3-fold and will reach 800,000 in 1980. In the next few years the bulk of the young people, who are graduating from the secondary general educational school and are being sent to the sphere of physical production, will acquire a working profession at technical schools.

Along with the indicated forms of education 1,500 vocational and technical schools are in operation, at which the graduates of the eighth grade in one or two years acquire a working profession. The number of these schools is gradually being reduced and in the future will be reduced to a minimum. Secondary vocational and technical schools and technical schools for those who have a general secondary education will become the predominant type of educational institutions in the system of vocational and technical education. By 1980 approximately 90 percent of all students will be studying at them.

At the same time much still has to be done so that the reputation of educational institutions which provide modern and thorough knowledge would be attached to secondary vocational and technical schools. The conference participants expressed the hope that these vocational and technical schools would also be a good launching ground for those who decide in the future to devote themselves to engineering or scientific activity. At present the organs of vocational and technical education have to step up the work on the further expansion of the network of secondary vocational and technical schools and technical schools and to ensure their rational location. At the conference it was stated that in Tambovskaya and Amurskaya Oblasts, Buryatia, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan the indicators of the training of skilled workers with a secondary education are the lowest in the country.

During his visit to the regions of Siberia and the Far East General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L. I. Brezhnev indicated the need to develop the system of vocational and technical education in these regions.

The high rate of development of vocational and technical education not only has been brought about by economic considerations, but also makes it possible to a certain extent to solve important social problems.

At the conference the question of improving the organization of the admission of young people to schools was raised. In this respect there are some difficulties, which have been caused by the imbalance of the plans of the admission of young people to educational institutions of various types. Director of the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine D. P. Galkin spoke about the importance of a scientific approach to the determination of the proper ratios in the training of skilled workers and specialists with a higher and secondary specialized education.

Many of the speakers noted the need for the further improvement of the vocational guidance of young people and for the consolidation of the contacts between the schools and general educational schools. The facts attest that some young people have a superficial idea about the system of vocational and technical education and are not ready psychologically for studies at the schools. In order to change the formed situation it is necessary to worry more about the strengthening of the authority of vocational and technical education, which to a considerable extent depends on the teaching collectives and public organizations.

Under the conditions of mature socialism the demands on the level of education and the skills of workers are increasing considerably. Questions of increasing the quality of training of the young working generation held an important place in the report of the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education and in the speech of the conference participants.

It was noted that it is necessary to devote more attention to questions of improving the educational and training process, which should reflect more completely the objective changes in the content and nature of the labor of workers and should take into account the latest achievements of science and technology and advanced production know-how.

The USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education has revised and enlarged the list of occupations, in which vocational and technical schools train the regular labor force. Along with traditional, mass occupations this list also includes such occupations as operator and adjuster of lathes, milling machines and other machine tools with numerical program control, foreman for the technical diagnosis and adjustment of agricultural equipment. Of the graduates of the schools 35 percent are mastering related occupations or occupations of broad specialization.

The question of what needs to be done so that not only highly skilled, but also highly cultured, ideologically convinced young people would come from

behind the walls of the schools, was discussed in earnest at the conference. It was noted that at these educational institutions a certain system of the study of social disciplines--history, social science, the principles of esthetics--has formed, extracurricular educational work is performed, tutorship and the patronage of brigades of communist labor of enterprises over academic groups have been developed, students are trained in the revolutionary, military and labor traditions of the Soviet people.

At the same time there are still some shortcomings in the organization of educational work. Their elimination presumes the increase of the effectiveness of educational work at the schools on the basis of a comprehensive approach to the formation of the personality of future workers, the intensification of the ideological and political direction of the educational process, and particular attention should be devoted to the more thorough study of social disciplines and to the enhancement of their role in the formation in young people of a communist world outlook. It is necessary for the acquired knowledge to become convictions and to promote the development in the students of a conscious attitude toward public duty and irreconcilability toward bourgeois ideology.

The practical assistance of higher educational institutions is acquiring greater and greater importance in increasing the quality of the training and education of students of vocational and technical schools. Agreements on cooperations have been concluded in many oblasts, krays and republics between the collectives of institutes and schools. Instuctors of higher educational institutions give lectures at the schools and conduct elective courses. The conference approved and recommended henceforth to develop and improve this work.

The contacts of the organs of vocational and technical education with the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and sectorial scientific institutions are being expanded and strengthened. Studies on the problems of improving the training of skilled workers for the regions of Siberia and the Far East are being conducted jointly with the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The results of the scientific research conducted at 113 support institutions of the Department of Pedagogy and the Psychology of Vocational and Technical Education, were examined at the joint meeting of the collegium of the RSFSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education and the Bureau of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. Proposals were made on the further expansion and the increase of the quality of scientific developments.

It was noted that the fulfillment of the great and complicated tasks, which were set by the party for the system of vocational and technical education, depends completely and entirely on the ideological and political level and the occupational skills of the engineering and teaching personnel. In recent years their qualitative composition has improved considerably. During the past 10 years the number of specialists with a higher education has increased fourfold, the training of engineer-educators of vocational and technical schools has been organized at 34 higher educational institutions of

the country. At present nearly all the directors of schools, their deputies and the instructors have a higher education, while the foremen of on-the-job training have a secondary specialized or higher education. It is necessary henceforth to strengthen the system of vocational and technical education with well-trained managerial and engineering teaching personnel, to increase the graduation of specialists of the highest skill for schools at higher educational institutions and to create the conditions for sending to vocational and technical schools specialists from enterprises as foremen of on-the-job training.

The creation of the proper educational material base is an important condition for improving the training of workers. Much work is being performed in this area, but due to the nonfulfillment of construction plans a significant number of schools have not been put into operation. In three years in the Nonchernozem Zone the construction of new complexes to accommodate 25,000 students has been upset.

The attachment of the graduates of the schools to a works and the shortening of the period of adaptation in the work collective are of great importance. But concern about the graduates of vocational and technical schools is still not being displayed everywhere. At times obsolete equipment is allocated to young workers, they are used in jobs which do not correspond to their specialty. At some enterprises the necessary conditions for the daily life and relaxation of young people are lacking, which leads to the turnover of personnel.

The holding of the All-Union Conference of Workers of Vocational and Technical Education is a significant event in the life of the country. The extensive discussion of the questions of training and educating the young working generation and the practical implementation of the recommendations which were worked out will make it possible to consolidate and develop the gains made in the matter of vocational and technical education, to correct the existing shortcomings and to make more complete use of the positive experience.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1976, p 77

2. "Spravochnyye materialy o razvitii gosudarstvennoy sistemy professional'no-tekhnicheskogo obrazovaniya SSSR za 1976-1978 gg." /Reference Materials on the Development of the USSR State System of Vocational and Technical Education During 1976-1978/, Moscow, 1979, p 3

3. See "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS," p 221

4. Ibid.

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THE INTELLIGENTSIA DURING THE PERIOD OF MATURE SOCIALISM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 202-208

/Article by L. N. Kogan/

/Text/ The All-Union Theoretical Science Conference "The Soviet Intelligentsia and Its Role in the Building of Communism" was held in Novosibirsk in late June 1979. Philosophers, sociologists and historians from various scientific centers of the country took part in the work of the conference. The party organizations of Western Siberia and scholars of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences took an active part in its preparation. The conference was opened with the introductory speech of Hero of Socialist Labor Academician A. P. Okladnikov. Secretary of the Novosibirskaya Oblast Committee of the CPSU and Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. P. Derevyanko greeted its participants on behalf of the oblast and city party organizations. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ts. A. Stepanyan and Doctor of Historical Sciences S. A. Fedyukin delivered summarizing reports.

In contrast to the traditional procedure at the plenary sessions and sections the other reports were not read, in order to leave more time for free discussion on acute theoretical problems of the historical development and current status of the Soviet intelligentsia and its role in the mature socialist society.

Without seeking to cover all the details of these discussions, let us dwell only on four methodological problems, which actually were at the center of attention of the conference.

1. /The Concept of the Intelligentsia/ /in italics/. All the conference participants were unanimous in characterizing the intelligentsia as a social group (or stratum), of which its place in the social division of labor--first of all employment in mental labor--serves as the criterion of distinction.[1] However, the discussion, which became heated over the definition of the intelligentsia, nevertheless is justified. At present, and especially in the future, as many speakers noted, intellectual functions are also gradually becoming predominant in the labor of workers and kolkhoz farmers. Therefore some conference participants attempted to find "additional"

attributes which would characterize first of all the socialist intelligentsia. V. S. Semenov proposed, for example, as such an attribute "the social attribute of the place in the social system of labor, the attitudes on participation in national labor, the ties with one of the objectively still separate types of national labor," considering the nature of labor "an economic, and not a social category." Any other understanding, in his opinion, leads to isolation from Marxism.

Is this so? Speaking about the labor of the worker under capitalism, K. Marx emphasized its "specifically social nature."[2] "The communist revolution," the founders of scientific communism noted, "opposed the former nature of activity."[3] The assumption about the nature of labor as a socio-economic category, which reflects different levels (aspects) of the socio-economic essence of labor activity--"the relationship between people in their participation in national labor"[4]--has become firmly established in Soviet economic, sociological and philosophical scientific literature.

It is well known that it is possible to speak about the division of labor between classes (and correspondingly the social groups and strata within them), the city and the countryside, the sectors of the economy, labor collectives and so on. In all these aspects it functions simultaneously both as an /economic/ /in italics/ and as a /social/ /in italics/ (in the broad sense), that is, a socio-economic, phenomenon.

The social division of labor has as its basis the differences in the nature and content of labor activity, and the former of these differences plays the decisive role. Such is the situation, in particular, in the division of labor into mental and physical labor, which in antagonistic formations developed into a contrast between them. This contrast was eliminated in the process of building socialism, but an essential difference remained, and in it lies the fundamental cause of the existence of the intelligentsia as a special social group in the mature socialist society. But in this case is it permissible to oppose the criterion of the distinction of the intelligentsia according to the nature of nature to the criterion of its distinction according to the place in the social division of labor? Is it not clear that the second criterion stems directly from the first?

A correct interpretation of the concept "the nature of labor," as F. R. Filippov showed in his speech, is necessary not only for analyzing the place and role of the intelligentsia in socialist society, but also for combating bourgeois sociological concepts which reduce the nature of labor to "the kind of work." The common socialist nature of labor of all the classes, strata and groups of our society does not eliminate the social differences (and not only occupational) between primarily mental and primarily physical, agrarian and industrial, organizing and executive labor and so on. Therefore, in our opinion, the fact that the representatives of the intelligentsia are engaged professionally in /primarily mental labor/ /in italics/ is both /necessary/ /in italics/ and /sufficient/ /in italics/ for distinguishing the intelligentsia as a special social group under socialism.

The fact of the appearance of groups of workers and kolkhoz farmers, in whose labor functions connected with mental activity are predominating to a greater and greater extent, does not give grounds for rejecting this definition and attests only to the fact that the boundaries between the intelligentsia and the main classes of society are constantly being eroded.

What has been said, of course, does not rule out the possibility of further work on making the definition more precise and does not deny the possibility of its concretization with respect to individual periods of development and individual groups of the Soviet intelligentsia. Attempts like this were made, in particular, in the speeches of I. G. Nikol'skiy (Krasnoyarsk), S. P. Stadukhin (Sverdlovsk) and others.

The suggestion of O. N. Trubitsin to define the socialist intelligentsia as a stratum which is engaged in /mediated/ /in italics/ mental productive labor requires a special examination. In his opinion, the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry are engaged /directly/ /in italics/ in productive labor, while the intelligentsia carries out /indirectly/ /in italics/ productive labor, performing the functions of the organizational support of physical production and the development of mental production.

Such an approach "works" when characterizing certain groups of the intelligentsia, but is untenable when it is extended to the entire Soviet intelligentsia. In the opinion of O. N. Trubitsin, there is no fundamental difference between the labor of an engineer, a foreman in a plant shop and an artist, since they all ostensibly are engaged in mediated productive labor (the engineer and foreman--in the organization of labor, while the artist--in the creation of the conditions for the development of the individual).

But under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution the engineer and technician, and in a number of instances also the scholar are directly involved in the creation of a physical product. K. Marx, bearing this in mind, spoke about transforming science into a /direct productive force/ /in italics/. However, can it be thought that science as a social institution is becoming a direct productive force, while the labor of a scholar, who creates this science, remains indirectly productive? During the age of the scientific and technical revolution the trends, which had only emerged more than 100 years ago, appeared in full force. The labor of the detachments of the intelligentsia, who are engaged directly in the creation of the physical product, is directly productive.

On the other hand, it is hardly logical to assign to directly productive labor the labor of a stage worker in a theater or a worker of the movie industry and to assign to indirectly productive labor the labor of an actor, a director or even an educator and a physician. The social utility of labor outside the sphere of physical production and the influence of this labor on the labor of the producers of material wealth are unquestionable. But the mixing of social science labor with productive labor is totally impermissible, since it leads inevitably to the loss of the criteria of the differences between the sphere of physical production and other spheres of social life.

As to such an attribute as the possession by the intelligentsia of a higher and secondary specialized education, none of the conference participants expressed the view that this attribute is mandatory. First, it is a question of /specialists/ /in italics/, that is, the intelligentsia in the narrow sense, since the intelligentsia in the broad sense also includes employees (nonspecialists). Second, some of the specialists, who perform the corresponding job, are "experienced workers," that is, they do not have a diploma of a tekhnikum or a higher educational institution. Nevertheless, as the proportion of "experienced workers" decreases, the role of this attribute as an /auxiliary/ /in italics/ attribute increases. In many areas of activity (a physician, a lawyer and so on) only people with the appropriate diploma are allowed to perform labor of a certain skill. That is why this principle under present conditions cannot be considered a universal one, which characterizes the /entire/ /in italics/ intelligentsia which includes both experienced workers and people of less skilled mental labor, who do not have such an education. But here we are in fact already moving on to another problem: the relationship of social and occupational differences under the conditions of socialist society.

2. /The Relationship of Social and Occupational Differences/ /in italics/. This problem, of course, goes beyond the study of the intelligentsia and concerns all social groups. Ts. A. Stepanyan correctly noted in his report that "it is impossible to identify intraclass occupational differentiation with social differentiation." However, a completely unjustified conclusion, in our opinion, followed from this correct premise in the report: "People who identify occupational skills differentiation with social differentiation inevitably proceed to the division of the unified stratum of the intelligentsia into three different strata." The speaker explained the realization of this division... by the influence of bourgeois theories of "social stratification," which cannot be classified as anything but an attempt in the discussion between Marxists to use long refuted methods.

Let us note first of all that in this conclusion the replacement of the term "occupational differentiation" by "occupational skills" differentiation took place inconspicuously, although these are by no means equivalent concepts. However, let us try to get to the bottom of the matter.

Are occupational differences in socialist society at the same time also social differences? The answer to this question should reflect the dialectics of the interrelation of occupational differences with social differences in general and social class differences in particular. The differences between the labor of a physician and a teacher, of occupational groups of workers of skilled mental labor are not of a social nature, just as the differences between the labor of skilled workers, for example, a fitter-adjuster and a blast furnace operator, since in both instances we are dealing with occupations of skilled mental and skilled physical labor. The differences between workers of highly skilled and unskilled labor are another matter. They have a social nature, since they are differences in the /nature/ /in italics/ of labor, differences between different kinds of labor: simple and complex, skilled and unskilled. K. Marx noted: "The

division of labor creates different types of labor within the same class."[5] The socio-economic heterogeneity of labor is also maintained under socialism and this is conveyed in the fact that the occupational division of labor functions as a continuation of its social class division.

These questions were examined in detail in the speech of Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. N. Rutkevich. He expressed the opinion that the differences between the detachments of the intelligentsia are at the same time both occupational (for these detachments are "blocks" of related occupations) and--to a certain degree--social differences. The differences between the strata of the intelligentsia, being first of all social differences, also have an occupational side. The process of the convergence of the intelligentsia with the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry is at the same time also the intensification of the social homogeneity within the intelligentsia itself: the overcoming of the differences in the nature of labor, its skill and wages, in the level of education of the workers and so on. Such an approach, which takes into account the internal connection of the occupational and social differences under the conditions of socialism, is entirely valid.

The question of the relationship of social and occupational differences arose quite naturally at the conference on the intelligentsia. The determination of the place of so-called employees (in the narrow sense of this word, as nonspecialists, workers of unskilled and semiskilled mental labor) in the overall structure of the intelligentsia depends on its solution. Do they act as a special stratum of the intelligentsia or are the differences between them and workers of skilled mental labor (specialists) of a purely occupational nature?

Unlike the bourgeois intelligentsia, the socialist intelligentsia is unified, it is completely national and has a common attribute--it is engaged in mental labor. But the views of those authors, who do not see differences in the unity and express doubt that social differences within the intelligentsia still occur, seem extremely oversimplified. In particular, the distinction within it of a stratum of nonspecialist employees conforms to reality. It is well known that state statistics divides the people engaged in primarily mental labor into "specialists" and "employees." Such a division has also become traditional when conducting concrete sociological research.

Does this signify any "opposition" whatsoever of specialists to employees, and especially "disdain for employees," about which some conference participants spoke? Of course not! Those who emphasized the need for the intensive and thorough study of this group, a larger and larger portion of which, by obtaining of secondary specialized and higher education, are becoming specialists, are right. The boundaries between specialists and employees, who make up the intelligentsia in the broad sense, are not rigid, they are being eroded more and more.

Thus, along with the occupational structure of the intelligentsia it is also necessary to study its social structure, proceeding first of all from the division of the intelligentsia into specialists and employees (nonspecialists) and distinguishing among the specialists the groups which differ in skills. Such an approach does not in the least undermine the integrity and unity of the socialist intelligentsia. And hence the term "social occupational groups," against which Ts. A. Stepanyan inveighs, has full right to existence and should be used where the differences between occupations are based on differences in the nature of labor. Otherwise we will not be able to adequately reveal the essence of the occupational structure of both classes and the intelligentsia under present conditions, to which attention was addressed in the speeches of V. A. Kopyrin (Sverdlovsk), I. Ye. Krasnogorskiy (Chelyabinsk) and others.

While emphasizing the increasing integration of Soviet society during the period of mature socialism, it is impossible not to direct attention to the still existing intraclass social differences and the ways of overcoming them. The process of the movement of society toward complete social homogeneity, as I. S. Smirnov, V. T. Yermakov and a number of other conference participants correctly noted, is complex and contradictory. It is not only the process of the convergence of classes with each other, of classes and the intelligentsia, but also the process of gradually overcoming the differences within classes and strata, differences which, as a number of conference participants pointed out, are by no means the invention of sociologists.

3. /Problems of the Convergence of the Working Class and the Intelligentsia/ /in italics/. The boundaries between social groups in the mature socialist society, which is heading toward social homogeneity, are very mobile and relative. The general traits, which are characteristic of the Soviet people as a new, historically established international community, are characteristic of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia. The differences of social groups in education, the degree of social activeness and political culture and all the parameters of the socialist way of life are decreasing.

This is displayed especially vividly in the vital activity of the working class, the leading class of socialist society. Back in the early 1960's Soviet sociologists noted the appearance of a stratum of workers, who have a complete secondary and secondary specialized education, whose labor is connected with new equipment and technology, workers who have a high political culture and an active position in life, the sense of being the master of their enterprise, a high level of general culture. In the monograph "Pod"yem kul'turno-tekhnicheskogo urovnya sovetskogo rabochego klassa" /The Increase of the Cultural and Technical Level of the Soviet Working Class/ these workers were called "worker intellectuals."[6] Since then this term has been used extensively in a number of speeches of the leaders of our party and in Soviet scientific literature.[7]

Since the appearance of this concept all the authors who have used it have invariably emphasized that "worker intellectuals" are an integral part of the Soviet working class, and that part of it, whose labor in many respects is approaching the labor of engineering and technical personnel. This feature is also reflected in the new term.

L. I. Brezhnev said: "The closer we come to communism, the more limited the link between physical and mental labor will be. Right now a worker often operates such large and complex sets of equipment, with which previously not every engineer could cope."[8]

What has been said about the concept "worker intellectual" also pertains to the term "marginal" stratum, which is used by many sociologists. Of course, it must not be understood in the territorial-geographical sense--as the "periphery," the "edge" of the working class. The term is called upon to indicate one of the directions of the intensively occurring process of social integration in our society. Without losing sight of the fact that the main processes of convergence occur in the "midst" of classes and social groups, it is impossible to underestimate the importance of the above-mentioned direction. This was spoken about in the speech of V. I. Staroverov. At the same time he emphasized that the term "worker of a new type," which has been repeatedly used in party documents of recent years, is the general and most precise designation for the social characterization of the groups of the working class and kolkhoz peasantry, in the makeup of which their convergence with the intelligentsia is displayed most vividly.

It might seem that at the conference the debate was about words. However, this is not so. It was in fact a question of whether /new strata/ /in italics/ can appear at all in our society or whether their appearance is incompatible with the movement toward complete social homogeneity. We assume that the appearance of transitional strata reflects the real processes of the development of the social structure of Soviet society. The formation and development of such strata, no doubt, do not signify that the overcoming of social differences does not affect the entire mass of workers and kolkhoz farmers. But this process is embodied most vividly in the transitional strata.

4. /The General and the Particular in the Process of the Formation of the Socialist Intelligentsia in the USSR/ /in italics/. As is known, the present Soviet intelligentsia for the most part is being recruited from among the people who graduate from higher and secondary specialized educational institutions. However, so far the group of "experienced workers," who do not have a specialized education, has existed and reproduced among the intelligentsia. At one time, when the Soviet higher and secondary specialized school had just been set up by the party, and there were clearly not enough "specialists," our country promoted en masse to the intelligentsia leading workers. This was of substantial importance for improving its social composition. However, as a number of historians correctly pointed out in their speeches at the conference (S. A. Fedyukin, V. T. Yermakov and others), this promotion occurred primarily to executive positions in the party and

soviet machinery. A person having an elementary education was not promoted to the position of surgeon or aircraft designer. Those promoted from among the workers and peasants enrolled in tekhnikums and higher educational institutions, received an education and in this way (and not by the method of simple "promotion") reinforced the ranks of specialists. And whereas this was necessary in the 1920's and 1930's, it is all the more correct under present conditions, when the most developed system of higher and secondary specialized education in the world has been created in the USSR. In recent years the proportion of "experienced workers" in the overall composition of the intelligentsia has been steadily decreasing. According to the data of V. I. Astakhova, at the Khar'kov Tractor Plant the percentage of "experienced workers" among the engineering and technical personnel decreased from 47.9 percent in 1962 to 30.9 percent in 1972. At the same time in absolute figures the number of "experienced workers" is still great.

In economic and sociological literature the existence of specialists without a diploma (engineers, technicians, cultural organizers, agricultural specialists and so on) is usually regarded as a temporary phenomenon which moderates the rate of scientific and technical progress. It should be noted that a different view of "experienced workers" was expressed in the speech of Ts. A. Stepanyan. He regards "experienced workers" as "promoted workers" and considers them an important /permanent/ /in italics/ source for reinforcing the ranks of the Soviet intelligentsia, which will also retain its importance in the future. This thesis needs to be analyzed with allowance made for the course of real processes. According to the data of the same V. I. Astakhova, 43.7 percent of the engineers and technicians at kolkhozes and 42.4 percent at sovkhozes do not have a specialized education; among veterinarians this proportion is equal respectively to 31.1 and 23.8 percent. Must it be proven that this hinders the effective use of new agricultural equipment and is not conducive to preventing diseases of domesticated animals? About 80 percent of the club workers in the villages of the Urals, according to our data, do not have even a secondary specialized education. It is not by chance that the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures to Further Improve the Cultural Service of the Rural Population," spoke about the need to take steps to reinforce rural cultural institutions with staffs of skilled specialists and to attach them to the village.[9] Life attests to the forced replacement of positions of specialists with people without the appropriate education and to the need to saturate all the sectors of the economy and culture with specialists having the proper vocational training which was received at educational institutions.

The bulk of the "experienced workers" in industry and construction now hold the positions of middle-level managers (foremen, superintendents, chiefs of shifts and sections and so on). In 1977 30 percent of the foremen did not have a specialized education.[10] Here the situation is more complicated. In the press it has already been noted that the technical equipment of production is required far from everywhere in order for an engineer or a technician to hold the position of foreman. At times a skilled worker, especially with a secondary education and work experience, can also be a

foreman. It is all a matter of the specific conditions of production. The general formula of Ts. A. Stepanyan does not take into account all the specific circumstances. It is impossible to carry over mechanically the term of the 1920's and 1930's "promotion" to current reality, and this was quite clearly stated in the speeches of historians at the conference.

In the well-known Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures to Further Enhance the Role of the Foreman of the Production Section of Industrial Enterprises and Construction Organizations" (1977), it is proposed: "To improve the selection, placement and training of foremen; to promote to these positions engineering and technical personnel who have organizing abilities and production experience, leading, highly skilled workers who have a secondary specialized or general secondary education."[11]

Thus, the problems of real life at times are considerably more complex than other abstract schemes and recommendations.

We have dwelled only on a few debatable problems raised at the held conference. Its participants unanimously approved the recommendations on the further study of the problems of the Soviet national intelligentsia and the proposal on holding a second all-union conference on these problems. In preparing for it, it is worthwhile to take into account both the positive experience and the shortcomings of the conference in Novosibirsk. There were few reports based on concrete sociological research. At times one scheme was opposed to another without adequate reasons. Too little was said about individual detachments of the intelligentsia (especially the intelligentsia of the village). Unethical accusations of our colleagues of deviation from Marxism, imitiation of bourgeois sociologists and so on occurred in some heads of reports. Some major scientific institutions, which are carrying out the active elaboration of the discussed problems, unfortunately did not take part in the conference. Thus, the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences was represented by only two of its staff members. Scholars from the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Leningrad), the Institute of History of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences, a number of party scientific institutions, the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee and so on did not participate in the conference. It seems that the next conference should be more representative.

Having approved the recommendation to publish the works of the conference, its participants made the suggestion to prepare them carefully for publication for the purpose of eliminating incorrect statements, subjective assessments and so on. On the whole the conference was a definite step forward in the study of the complicated problems of the development of the intelligentsia in the USSR at the present stage.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "Nauchnyy kommunizm i fal'sifikatsiya yego renegatami" /Scientific Communism and Its Distortion by Renegades/, Moscow, 1974, p 38.

2. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." /Works/, Vol 23, p 83.

3. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 3, p 70.

4. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." /Complete Works/, Vol 6, p 45.

5. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 4, p 410.

6. See "Pod'yem kul'turno-tekhnicheskogo urovnya sovetskogo rabochego klassa," Moscow, 1961, p 11.

7. In the most recent years alone it has been used in the collective monographs "Razvitoy sotsializm" /Mature Socialism/ (Moscow, 1978), "Teoriya kommunisticheskogo stroitel'stva" /The Theory of Building Communism/ (Moscow, 1978), in the works of P. N. Fedoseyev, G. N. Volkov, V. A. Smirnov, N. Ye. Vorozheykin, S. L. Senyavskiy and many other authors.

8. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rechi i stat'i" /By the Leninist Course. Speeches and Articles/, Vol 4, Moscow, 1974, p 223.

9. See PRAVDA, 25 November 1977.

10. See PRAVDA, 6 May 1977.

11. Ibid.

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IN THE PRESIDIUM OF THE BOARD OF THE SOVIET SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 208-210

/Article by M. S. Solov'yev/

/Text/ The meeting of the Presidium of the Board of the Soviet Sociological Association was held in Moscow on 25 June 1979. The following basic questions were submitted for discussion: the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," and the tasks of promoting sociological knowledge; the development of sociological education in the country; the meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Sociological Association on 16-20 May of this year in Montreal (Canada).

Member of the Presidium of the Board and Chairman of the Bureau of the Moscow Department of the Soviet Sociological Association Professor G. T. Zhuravlev delivered a report on the first question. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the speaker noted, is a document of great mobilizing force. It contains a strategic program for increasing the quality and effectiveness of the ideological education of workers and strengthening the link of science with everyday ideological work, as well as sets specific tasks in the area of the sociological research being conducted in our country. This decree is of great importance for the development of sociological theory and the practical work of Soviet sociologists and for the Soviet Sociological Association as a whole.

Ideological and ideological educational work is a subject of the comprehensive sociological studies being conducted in all the union republics of our country. Interesting studies on this problem have been conducted in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldavia, Uzbekistan, Estonia and other republics. Sociological studies are performed regularly in Belorussia. This positive fact was noted in the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Work of Selecting and Training Ideological Personnel in the Party Organization of Belorussia."

A number of oblasts of the Ukraine (Kiev, Dnepropetrovskaya, Zaporozhskaya, Khar'kovskaya and others) have gained abundant experience in conducting studies on the problems of ideological work. In a report at the All-Union

Applied Science Conference "The Socialist Way of Life and Questions of Ideological Work" Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine V. V. Shcherbitskiy noted that a study of the role of ideological work in the formation of the socialist way of life was successfully under way at a number of enterprises of Donetskaya Oblast.

Studies of ideological work have also been conducted in Moscow and Leningrad, in Kaluzhskaya, Kalininskaya, Sverdlovskaya, Novosibirskaya, Tomskaya, Kemerovskaya, Kostovskaya and Pskovskaya Oblasts, in Krasnodarskiy, Stavropol'skiy and Khabarovskiy krays, in Bashkiria, Buryatia, Tataria and a number of other autonomous republics which belong to the RSFSR. The study of the problems of the formation of public opinion and the activity of the mass media in Taganrog yielded good results--in particular, the circulation of the city newspaper TAGANROGSKAYA PRAVDA increased from 32,000 to 55,000 copies.

The reputation of serious scientific research sociological collectives was attached to the Chair and the Department of Ideological Work of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee, the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov, the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems (Leningrad), the Belorussian State University and several other institutions.

The members of the Presidium of the Board of the Soviet Sociological Association, who spoke at the meeting--Deputy Chairman of the Board of the Soviet Sociological Association Professor A. G. Kharchev, Chairman of the Bureau of the Belorussian Department of the Soviet Sociological Association Professor G. P. Davidyuk, Chairman of the Bureau of the Azerbaijan Department of the Soviet Sociological Association Professor A. S. Shakir-Zade, Professor I. I. Changli and Professor F. R. Filippov--emphasized that the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," is forcing Soviet sociologists to approach self-critically and in a party manner the evaluation of the results of the work done and to reveal new reserves for increasing the quality of their work. The meeting participants noted that scholars are greatly indebted to the party organizations. In particular, too few research programs and methods, even on problems which were studied for many years, are being published. As a result, party organs are forced to conduct studies on their own. The departments of the association should cooperate more closely with the party committees, giving them the necessary methods assistance and organizing joint research and applied science conferences.

The reader of the report and the speakers noted, moreover, that sociologists have not yet solved many problems of the long-range planning of ideological work and have not developed a sound system of indicators of the effectiveness of communist education. The propagation of sociological knowledge, including the results of sociological studies, also does not entirely meet current requirements. The elimination of these and several other shortcomings is most directly connected with the fulfillment of those tasks

which were advanced by the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work."

Professor A. D. Kosichev, dean of the Philosophy Department of Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov, delivered the report on the second question. He stressed that in recent years considerable work has been done on the training of specialist-sociologists. Chairs of sociological research, which carry out the specialization of students of the senior years, have been set up at Moscow and Tbilisi universities, the Institute of Complex Social Research has been organized at Leningrad University. The graduates of the Philosophy Department of the Belorussian University receive the diploma of philosopher-sociologist, while the graduates of the Economics Department of Gomel' University receive the diploma of a sociologist-economist.

Work on the training of specialists in the field of applied sociology is being performed in many large cities of the country. The sociology faculties and departments of the universities of Marxism-Leninism attached to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics, the kraykoms (obkoms), gorkoms and raykoms of the CPSU have proven their worth.

At the same time there are significant shortcomings and unsolved problems in the matter of training certified sociologists. At many universities there is no specialization "sociology" with all that this implies. The staff position "sociologist" is lacking in ministries and departments, at enterprises of industry, transportation and communications, at construction projects, kolkhozes and sovkhozes. In this connection difficulties are arising with the placement of the graduates who are completing state universities at which this specialization exists.

At the same time, as Member of the Presidium of the Soviet Sociological Association and Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. N. Rutkevich noted in his speech, an acute shortage of certified sociologists is being observed. The Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry alone is willing to set aside 30 rates for sociologists. There are more than one or two such ministries in the country. The accomplishment of the tasks advanced in the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," also requires the efforts of highly skilled specialists. Therefore the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the Soviet Sociological Assocation and universities need to carry out at the same time as the development of the system of faculties and departments of sociology the appropriate preliminary work with the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the departments of USSR Gosplan and the interested ministries and departments.

M. N. Rutkevich considers it useful to turn to the experience gained in the GDR. In this country a system of training of sociologists at higher educational institutions has been formed, plant sociological services exist and sociological studies for the managers of industrial enterprises have been organized.

In conclusion M. N. Rutkevich broached the question of making up the staff of professors and instructors of the chairs and departments of sociology.

Deputy Director of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences Professor I. T. Levykin reported to the Presidium of the Board of the Soviet Sociological Association that on the instructions of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences the institute had drawn up proposals on the coordination of the sociological research being conducted in the country and the reinforcement of the system of the corresponding scientific institutions with personnel and had developed a curriculum and syllabus of a course of applied sociology for philosophy departments. At the same time the institute is carrying out the development of a syllabus and curriculum for the economics departments of higher educational institutions, as well as the system of sociological scientific organizations within the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Chairman of the Bureau of the Belorussian Department of the Soviet Sociological Association Professor G. P. Davidyuk, Chairman of the Volga-Vyatka Department of the Soviet Sociological Association Professor V. G. Mordkovich and Head of the Chair of the Methods of Concrete Social Research of Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov Professor D. F. Kozlov took part in the discussion of the question of developing sociological education in the country. Deputy Chairman of the Board of the Soviet Sociological Association Professor A. G. Kharchev devoted his speech to the problem of the further training of sociologists, as well as to the development of the correspondence and evening forms of sociological education.

Member of the Executive Committee of the International Sociological Association Professor Kh. N. Momdzhyan gave a report on the third question. He informed the Presidium of the Board of the Soviet Sociological Association about the decision of the International Sociological Association to hold the 10th World Congress of Sociology in Mexico City (Mexico) in August 1982 on the theme "Sociological Theory and Social Practice."

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FIRST ALL-UNION SCHOOL-SEMINAR ON ETHNOSOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 210-214

/Article by Ya. Z. Garipov and A. A. Susokolov/

/Text/ The All-Union School-Seminar on Ethnosociology was held in Kiev on 21-24 May.

The new scientific trend--ethnosociology--which arose in the second half of the 1960's, is developing especially intensively at present. Both the subject matter of the research and its geography are being enlarged. There are a number of methodological and methods problems, the discussion and solution of which are of great importance for the further development of research. The need to organize the all-union school-seminar was also caused by this.

Academician Yu. V. Bromley in the report "On the Relationship of Ethnography, Sociology and History" noted that, when determining the subject of ethnosociology, its relations with the subject areas of related sciences are frequently not taken into account, which leads, on the one hand, to the duplication of research and, on the other, to problems when characterizing the general object of the study.

The differences between ethnography and ethnosociology are determined not by the methods, but by the subject of research. The cultural specifics of ethnic communities are the subject of study in ethnography. Ethnosociology examines the interrelationship of the ethnic and the social in the broad sense of this word. Too little attention is being devoted for the present to research on ethnic history, which constitutes a special field of historical ethnosociology. The relationship between the subject areas of history, ethnography and sociology can be seen in the terms elementary, particular and general. However, the boundaries between these sciences are very arbitrary. Thus, for example, ethnosociology, being oriented in the end toward the study of the general laws of the social and the ethnic, can devote substantial attention both to the identification of ethnic specifics and to the analysis of the development of individual ethnoses. The subject of ethnosociology is broader than the sociology of national relations, since the development of national relations is only one of the variants of ethnosocial processes.

In the report of Yu. V. Arutyunyan, "Ethnosociology: Goals, Means, Results," the main problems of domestic ethnosociology were examined, and some conclusions which were obtained in accordance with the materials of the all-union study of the optimization of the conditions of the development and convergence of nations, which is being conducted by the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences, were also set forth. Ethnosociological research, in the opinion of the speaker, is being developed in two main directions: the study of the national specifics of general social processes and the study of ethnic processes in different social milieu. The first direction is the larger in scale according to the social importance and expenditures of research efforts. Mass ethnosociological studies cover two subsystems of variables: the indicators of the environment (the general characteristics of the economy, the population, the means of mass information) and the characteristics of ethnocultural processes and interethnic relations. Whereas in the study of the factors of the environment the data of official mass sources are the main source, the study of ethnic and sociocultural processes rests mainly on special ethnosociological surveys. The data of the studies conducted by the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences attest that the way of life of people in their most important traits is determined not by national affiliation, but by the most significant sociodemographic parameters: age, social and occupational affiliation, education and so on. The intergroup differences in the way of life are connected with two relatively independent spheres of relations: everyday family and social-production. The international differences now existing in the aims and behavior in the everyday family sphere are being erased more slowly than in the production sphere. This is manifested, for example, in the indicators of the birth rate and the number of children in the family. An important social problem consists in the fact that the level of the birth rate, which ensures the normal reproduction of the population, does not always make it possible to take advantage of the opportunities for the all-round development of the individual.

Academician of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Yu. Yu. Kakhk in the report "An Attempt at an Ethnosociological Analysis of a Nation (According to Materials of the Estonian SSR)" told about some results of the international study of the role of the family in the processes of the transmission of culture, which was conducted in the USSR by the Institute of Ethnography jointly with the Institute of History of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences. Working married Estonians and Russians of Tallin were the subject of the study. A considerable portion of those surveyed (45 percent of the Estonians and 62 percent of the Russians) came from rural areas and small cities of the Estonian SSR. The identical opportunities for social mobility led to the absence of significant differences between Estonians and Russians in social and occupational composition and the level of financial security. The considerable similarity in the nature of their consumption of culture also stemmed from this. The coincidence (in the basic features) of the stereotypes of behavior, which were inherited from parents, was conducive to the formation of this similarity. Two-generation families, as well as similar orientations toward the nature of intrafamilial relations predominated among both nationalities. Such social values as a good family and an

interesting job and, to a much lesser extent, financial security were of great importance for both Estonians and Russians. Both were oriented toward mixed marriages and work in multinational collectives. However, the Russians implement these guidelines in practice to a greater extent than Estonians. In Russian and mixed families the parents are worried somewhat more often than in Estonian families by problems of the rearing of children. A diversity of forms of spending leisure distinguishes them, and such channels of cultural information as television and belles lettres are of particular importance. Estonians give preference to handicrafts and the theater. Definite differences are observed in the appreciation of movies on different subjects. All these facts require further study, explanation and use when planning leisure and free time.

In the report of O. I. Shkaratan, "Peculiarities of the Study of Social Structure in Ethnosociological Research," it was noted that the population of each region has specific traditions in the area of physical production, and these peculiarities should be taken into account when planning the distribution of productive forces. Such an approach would make it possible to solve some problems connected with the regional differences in the employment of the population, as well as with the adaptation of the population to the conditions of modern industrial production. The structure of the production and nonproduction activity of the population, in the opinion of the speaker, might be a measure of the social development of the population of one region or another, of one nationality or another.

The comparison of the results of a study throughout the Tatarskaya ASSR, which was made in 1974-1975, with the data of a 1967 study showed that intensive intergeneration social mobility is conductive to diverse nonproduction activity. The process of the disappearance of differences in the social composition of Russians and Tatars, which was established by the two studies, was caused by the intensive social mobility of the Tatar population. This apparently also explained the fact of the more intensive use of nonworking time by Tatars who are engaged in skilled labor as compared with Russians who belong to these social and occupational groups.

A. V. Orlov (Kiev) devoted his speech to questions of the methods of studying free time in ethonsociological research. In research of this nature questions of the real and ideal preference of different types of activity are usually used for identifying the structure of free time and the orientation toward different types of activity. In this connection the problem arises of elaborating the optimum set of occupations for the study of the structure of free time, as well as the criteria of its optimality. Specific studies make it possible to draw the conclusion that the differences in the use of nonworking time are more noticeable in social-occupational and settlement communities than in ethnic communities.

The report of M. N. Guboglo (Moscow) was devoted to the analysis of the main directions of the ethnosociological study of ethnolinguistic processes. The tendency to shift from the study of the structure of language to the study of its functioning in society has predominated in recent

decades. Domestic sociolinguistics and its division "ethnolinguistics" have passed through three stages along this path: the formulation of general methodological problems (the 1960's); primarily descriptive research (the later 1960's and early 1970's); the changeover to analytical research (the mid-1970's). These stages also reflect the development of the study of bilingualism. The main sources of the study of the functional aspects of the bilingualism of the population are departmental statistical materials and the data of special ethnosociological studies. The special studies are the most valuable source, but its extensive use is made difficult by the lack of coordination of the methodological and methods techniques of the studies conducted in different regions of the country. The main directions of ethnosociological research concern the interaction of language and other aspects of the ethnos. It has been demonstrated that the structure of a language does not determine the main trends of its functional development. The connection of a knowledge of a second language with the indicators of ethnic processes and interethnic relations is greater where bilingual groups do not constitute an absolute majority. The "native language" is in the now accepted understanding of it an indicator first of all of the socio-psychological orientation toward language. The report of I. S. Kon (Leningrad), "The Comparative Analysis of Socialization in Different Ethnocultural Environments," aroused great interest.

The present trends in the study of socialization are characterized by attention to its historical aspects. This trend had the result that the methods of analysis of literary sources are being used more and more extensively in studying socialization. In a number of instances these methods make it possible to establish the ethnic peculiarities of socialization, which are inaccessible to identification by means of other sources.

The study of the emergence and stabilization of the ethnic peculiarities of the personality is one of the tasks of ethnopsychology. The development of universal methods of the empirical study of basic personality traits acts as a necessary prerequisite of such studies. An attempt to analyze the system of indicators of the direction of the personality was contained in the report of V. Ye. Khmel'ko (Kiev). The analysis of the structure of motives of activity in ethnosociological research rests on the data of mass surveys, which makes it possible to apply statistical methods to the study of relations between the individual spheres of behavior motivation. The study of the interrelations of the general evaluation of satisfaction with life and its individual aspects by means of correlation analysis makes it possible to determine precisely which aspects of the life situation are of the greatest importance for the "social state of health" of the individual, and in the end to approach the determination of the most stable combinations of personality traits in the given social or ethnic community.

Questions of methodology and some results of the study of international relations in the USSR were examined in the report of L. M. Drobizheva (Moscow). All research practice confirmed the assumption about the decisive role of social factors in the formation of interethnic relations, as well as about the existence of two forms of the manifestation of national (ethnic)

limitedness in the area of the aims at interpersonal contacts, which are connected with inadequate familiarity with international culture and with some peculiarities of social mobility in some regions of the country and in different social groups. The question of the influence of the sociocultural convergence of nations on interethnic relations is also important. Data attest that the ethnocultural traits of the individual and his aims toward interethnic intercourse are connected in different ways in different regions of our country and even in different ethnic communities. For example, this dependence is strong in Uzbekistan, Moldavia and Tataria, but weaker in Estonia. The closeness of the connection of the aims toward interethnic contacts with the orientations toward the occupational culture of a different nationality varies considerably. The traditional orientations in material culture are most closely connected with the aims toward direct interethnic intercourse in the family.

In the speeches of A. A. Susokolov (Moscow) it was noted that the increase of the number of ethnosociological studies raises the problem of the comparability of their results. The standardization of methods is the most important condition of its solution. Work on the formation of a bank of tools has begun in the Sector of Sociological Research of the Institute of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The creation of such a bank, without restricting ethnosociologists in the development of original methods of studying new aspects of ethnosocial processes, will make it possible to avoid duplication and to achieve the comparability and high quality of research.

The need for the expansion of the information base of ethnosociological research, particularly the processing of the primary data of censuses, the enlistment of the data banks of automated control systems of industrial and agricultural enterprises, in which in addition to the nationality of each of the workers a large number of economic, social and demographic indicators are recorded, was emphasized in the speech of V. A. Ustinov (Moscow).

An interesting report on the results of the use of psychological methods for studying the process of the formation of ethnic self-awareness among children of school and preschool age was made by I. A. Snezhkova (Kiev). The specific nature of the subject requires the combination of different research methods: free discourse, the interview, the psychological and sociopsychological experiment and others. When working with young children methods based on visual information with the inclusion of elements of play are preferable. The used methods made it possible to confirm that the stages of the formation of ethnic identification coincide with the main stages of the formation of self-awareness, and children realize earlier the affiliation of parents and friends than their own. At the early stages the visually most pronounced traits of ethnic identification play a decisive role.

S. I. Karakeyeva (Frunze) dwelt in her speech on questions of methods and some results of the study of the Kirgiz urban family. The study of the role of the family as a channel of ethnocultural information requires the use of questionnaires which are designed for the survey of all the family members;

not an individual sampling, but a family sampling should be made. The study of the degree of preservation of traditional rites is possible with the recording in the questionnaires of each of the rites, and not only the attitudes toward the entire set of rites as a whole.

M. G. Kumakhov (Nal'chik) dwelled in his speech on a number of important questions of the convergence of ethnographic and ethnosociological studies of the adaptation of migrants. Migration from the village to the city causes both demographic and socio-ethnic changes in the composition of the population. Migrants not only adapt themselves to the conditions of the city, but also have some influence on the culture and mode of life of city dwellers. Push-pull migrations of city dwellers to rural areas, which can promote the preservation of some survivals in the environment of the urban population or, on the contrary, can cause a reaction to some negative features of the traditional rites and rituals, which are preserved in the village, play a special role in ethnosocial processes. In order to clarify all these features it is expedient to make small surveys according to a more detailed program than usual.

The report of Ya. Z. Garipov (Kazan') on the results of the use of regression analysis for studying the factors, which influence the spread of national-Russian bilingualism, in accordance with the materials of USSR censuses aroused interest. The proportion of the people of the indigenous nationalities of the union and autonomous republics, who speak Russian fluently, is determined first of all by the proportion of the Russian population in the cities of the oblast (republic), as well as, although to a lesser extent, by the level of education of the population of the indigenous nationalities, the proportion of variation of the indicators of bilingualism, which is explained by these factors, in some experiments exceeds 90 percent.

Nearly every speech evoked a large number of questions and a lively discussion. Let us dwell on some of them. Thus, Kh. I. Khutuyev (Nal'chik) and V. L. Mamedov (Baku), who spoke about the report of O. I. Shkaratan, noted that the attempts to direct one's attention to the ethnic specifics when distributing productive forces can lead to the preservation of traditions and in the end to an overall lag of the region.

Many speakers in the discussion touched upon the role of the family in ethnic processes. And this is not surprising, since this theme is one of the main ones in modern ethnographic and ethnosociological research. L. N. Terent'yeva in a statement on the report of Yu. Yu. Kakhk stressed that, according to the results of an analysis of the materials of civil registry offices, which was made in various regions of the country, the greatest percentage of interethnic marriages falls to the Russian and Ukrainian population, which makes these groups an active component of ethnic processes. Kh. I. Khutuyev noted the relatively great stability of national-mixed marriages between representatives of the indigenous peoples of Kabardino-Balkaria and Russians as compared with uninational marriages. L. M. Drobizheva warned about the danger of overestimating the role of national-mixed marriages for ethnic processes. Even in the regions, where

the proportion of these marriages is relatively small (for example, the majority of regions of Central Asia), an intensive process of the internationalization of all aspects of life, as well as of the appreciation of a number of elements of the culture of different nationalities is under way. N. R. Malikova (Baku) directed attention to the fact that although the children from national-mixed marriages, according to the regulations of the official registration of personal documents, inherit the ethnic affiliation of one of their parents, this does not signify a complete break with the ethnos of the other.

The unconditional expedience of regularly holding similar schools on ethnosociology in various republics, but on a narrower group of problems and first of all on the problems of the methods of ethnosociological research, was stressed at the concluding meeting. In the closing address L. N. Terent'yeva spoke about the need for closer cooperation between the institutions which conduct mass ethnosociological and ethnographic research. She noted the unquestionable fruitfulness of the idea of setting up interrepublic problem groups, which would make it possible to shift from regional research to the study of the general laws of ethnic processes.

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PROBLEMS OF INCREASING THE MATHEMATICAL LEVEL OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH (A REPUBLIC SEMINAR-CONFERENCE IN MINSK)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 214-21o

/Article by A. B. Kaganov and V. O. Rukavishnikov/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF INNOVATIONS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 216-219

/Article by V. P. Potapov and E. E. Terk/

/Not translated by IPRS/

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CRITICISM AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

FORMATION OF THE PERSONALITY OF THE SCIENTIST

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 220-224

/Review by M. N. Rutkevich of the book "Formirovaniye lichnosti uchenogo v usloviyakh ravitogo sotsializma" (Formation of the Personality of the Scientist Under the Conditions of Mature Socialism) by R. G. Yanovskiy, Novosibirsk, "Nauka", 1979, 285 pages/

/Text/ The recently published book of Doctor Professor R. G. Yanovskiy is a notable phenomenon in the growing stream of Soviet literature on problems of the personality.

The practical experience of the communist education of the scientific intelligentsia and of party management of the development of science under the conditions of Siberia is generalized in the book. An important role in expediting the development of the productive forces and culture of the vastest and richest region of Russia belongs to the Siberian Department of the Academy of Sciences, which was set up in 1957 in accordance with a decision of the party and the government. "The collective of the department," the author notes, "numbers 35,000, including more than 6,000 scientists, among whom there are 24 academicians, 53 corresponding members, 400 doctors and 3,000 candidates of sciences. More than 4,000 communists work in the department. This collective has become for the first time the subject of a scientific study in this aspect of the analysis" (p 11). In another place in the book it is emphasized that "the intensification of party influence on all aspects of the life of the scientific collectives is one of the main problems, on the solution of which the Novosibirskaya Oblast and Sovetskiy Rayon committees of the party and the party organizations of the Novosibirsk Scientific Center are working" (p 196).

The further extension of the network of academic scientific institutions in all the republics and regions of the country, particularly the formation of such major scientific centers of the USSR Academy of Sciences as the Urals and Far Eastern scientific centers, and the universal enhancement of the role of the science of higher educational institutions and sectors are yielding the most abundant material for generalizations and, at the same time, attest to the timeliness of the appearance of the study of R. G. Yanovskiy, in which one, and perhaps the most complicated aspect of the increase of

the role and importance of science, namely the formation of the personality of the scientist under the conditions of mature socialism, is taken.

It is well known that the "growth points" make themselves felt especially strongly at the meeting point of various sciences. In our opinion, this generally accepted thesis applies not only to the border zones of the natural, technical and social sciences and not only to the meeting points between the main fields of the natural sciences or the social sciences, but also to the processes taking place within the main fields of knowledge. In any of them the specialization and, accordingly, the differentiation of scientific knowledge occur, on the one hand, and integrative trends are realized, on the other. The latter are expressed in the establishment of relations between the different directions of research and in the extension of their general theoretical basis. What has been said fully applies to the philosophy and sociology of Marxism. Not having the opportunity here to expand the exposition of this very complex question, let us note only the features which directly concern the theme of the monograph in question.

The problem of the formation of the personality of the scientist presumes the turning to a number of the most important fields of philosophical-sociological knowledge: dialectical materialism as the philosophical basis of the world outlook of the scientist under the conditions of the socialist system; historical materialism as the general sociological theory of Marxism and, especially, the studies of the social structure of society, without which it is impossible to ascertain the place of the scientific intelligentsia in the life of present-day Soviet society; ethics, since the general principles of the process of the formation and development of the personality are studied within it; social psychology, which provides the underlying premises for the study of the psychological climate in the scientific collective.

R. G. Yanovskiy approaches all these fields of knowledge from a quite definite angle: what they provide for the control of the process of the formation of the world outlook, political and moral positions of scientific collectives and the main character in the sphere of science--the scientist. The intent of the book fully corresponds to the party requirement of the utmost consideration in the practice of communist education of the specific nature of individual social groups of Soviet society; particular attention is devoted to this in the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work."

The methodological position of the author is notable for preciseness and adherence to principle. On the basis of a careful generalization of the theoretical legacy of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and the provisions of party documents he gives detailed reasons for his concept and critically analyzes numerous works of Soviet scientists in the above-noted fields of philosophy and sociology.

The distinction between the intelligentsia in the broad sense, as the entire population of people of mental labor, and in the narrow sense, as the

social group (stratum) of specialists runs consistently through the book. The author notes that the definition of the intelligentsia "as a social stratum of people who are engaged professionally in primarily mental labor, which requires a specialized or higher education, has already been firmly established in our literature" (p 32). It is clear that the scientific intelligentsia constitutes a detachment within the stratum of specialists, since scientific work requires great skill, thorough vocational training and, as a rule, the acquisition of a higher education. In short, scientists are that part of the intelligentsia, "which is engaged professionally in scientific research work" (p 33).

Let us note that the author agrees with the accepted demarcation of the intelligenstia into skill strata and detachments, which are employed in different sectors of the economy and culture, but with a certain (quite correct) amendment. Indeed, the scientific intelligentsia belongs to the stratum of the highly skilled intelligentsia, since in its labor an important place is assigned to creative elements, while science in our times has become one of the important sectors of the economy and culture, and not only scientists, but also engineers, technicians, workers and employees are engaged in its sphere. Therefore the singling out of a sector of the economy when defining the detachment of the intelligentsia is in itself inadequate. In the monograph the link of the social class structure of society with the occupational structure is correctly indicated: people, whose occupation is scientific activity, that is, the acquisition of knowledge and its use in practice, are assigned to the scientific intelligentsia. It is easy to see that the nature of labor acts as the criterion of the social distinctions within the intelligentsia, including a criterion which makes it possible to distinguish such a stratum of it as the scientific intelligentsia.

dence it follows that the overcoming of the distinctions between the intelligentsia and the working class, as well as the kolkhoz peasantry (just as the distinctions within the intelligentsia) presumes the further convergence of the nature of their labor. The occupational differences, including in the labor of the scientist, will apparently remain for a long time to come, while the social differences, which are connected first of all with the level of complexity of labor--on the basis of the public ownership of the means of production and socialist distributive relations--will be overcome gradually, step by step. Therefore, "it is premature to suggest that the existing distinctions between mental and physical labor are only occupational distinctions which have no bearing on the problem of erasing social boundaries" (p 44).

In examining the problem of erasing social boundaries as applied to the scientific intelligentsia, the author correctly criticizes the "speculative assumptions" about the dissolution of the intelligentsia in the working class and about the transformation of the working class into the intelligentsia. The convergence of the intelligentsia, including the scientific intelligentsia, with the working class is a lengthy process, during which it assimilates the best traits of the working class and, at the same time,

introduces into the environment of the working class the qualities, which originate from scientific activity and are characteristic of leading scientists. Therefore in the book special attention is devoted to the examination of the process of the convergence of science and production, the collectives of scientific institutions and industrial enterprises, to their joint work on accelerating scientific and technical progress and to the introduction of scientific achievements in practice, since "the integral combination of mental and physical labor" will occur precisely in the sphere of productive, labor activity (p 93).

The experience of the Novosibirsk Scientific Center in developing various forms of creative cooperation with enterprises (the Novosibirsk Agricultural Machinery Plant, the Iskitimskiy Sovkhoz, Sibakademstroy, the Baykal-Amur Main Rail Line and so on) is covered in detail in the pages of the monograph. I would especially like to note on this level the importance of such an initiative of the Novosibirskaya Oblast Committee of the CPSU and the Presidium of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences as the creation of a "belt of introduction" around Akademgorodok, in which 22 institutes, 11 special design bureaus and a pilot plant are concentrated (p 94).

The author shows that the scientific intelligentsia is the fastest growing detachment of specialists and that the training of the young generation of scientists is being accomplished by the involvement in science of young people from all the social groups of society, all the nations and nationalities of the USSR. The valuable experience of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences in seeking gifted children in the schools of Siberia and the Far East and training them at the school of physics and mathematics and in organizing the educational process at Novosibirsk University with the use of the base of the academic institutes is covered thoroughly in the book.

In this connection it seems appropriate to make the following remarks. In Soviet sociology some experience of studying the social sources of the reinforcement of the intelligentsia, including the scientific intelligentsia, has already been gained. As is known, there are considerable problems here, since some measures far from completely offset the differences in the training of the school leavers, which is received in the rural and urban school, just as under the conditions of the cultural development of adolescents outside the school depending on the place of residence and especially on the conditions in the family. These problems were elaborated in Sverdlovsk, in the Ukraine, in Estonia and so on, as well as in Novosibirsk. The covering of this aspect of the reproduction of the scientific intelligentsia in the social structure of society would unquestionably enrich the book.

In raising the very important question of the formation of the world outlook of the Soviet scientist under the present conditions of the domination of mature socialist social relations in the USSR and the further development of the scientific and technical revolution, R. G. Yanovskiy, in our

opinion, quite correctly notes that by a world outlook there should be understood not only philosophical views as such, but also the sociopolitical views which find concrete practical expression in the civic position of the scientist. "A Marxism-Leninist world outlook is a decisive condition for the formation of the scientist, since it includes the goal of social development--the building of a communist society, specifies the main force of this development--the working class and its party, and indicates the way to accomplish this goal" (p 47). The world outlook is of dual importance in the formation of the scientist: it "creates the opportunity to properly orient oneself in the surrounding world, forms the underlying basis for the specific behavior and activity of the scientist" and, on the other hand, "serves as the most important condition so that the scientist could consciously, in a planned manner influence the world surrounding him" (p 48).

The factors, which form the world outlook of the scientific intelligentsia, and the ways, means and levers, by which the party organizations actively influence this process, are examined in detail in the book. I would like especially to dwell on the role of methodological (philosophical) seminars, which are the basic form of political training of the most skilled portion of scientists. This question is examined in the book twice--in § 3 of Chapter II, where the formation of an active position of the scientist in life is discussed, and in § 2 of Chapter IV, where an analysis of political training and ideological work in the scientific collective is given. The richest experience is covered. At the Novosibirsk Scientific Center 40 seminars are in operation, in the work of which 2,795 scientists, including 1,159 CPSU members, are taking part. As a rule, directors of the institutes and the most prominent scientists head the seminars, and this in many ways determines the success of their activity. The forms of work are diverse and in many ways innovative. The experience of two-year and five-year planning of the themes of work of the seminars is of great interest (pp 222-223). A number of scientific problems, which have a pronounced methodological direction, received creative elaboration at these seminars. With the proper party attention to their work the seminars are being transformed into "an important tool of the development of science itself" (p 114).

Here we would like to note the increasing importance of /sociological/ /in italics/ problems in the work of the methodological seminars of the Siberian scientists and in this connection the need for the general search for and use of the new ways of consolidating the /alliance of naturalists and sociologists/ /in italics/ in their joint work on urgent problems of the development of socialist society, such as "The Scientific and Technical Revolution and Its Social Consequences," "The Dialectics of Social Processes," "The 25th CPSU Congress on the Sociopolitical Development of Soviet Society," "CPSU Social Policy," "On Communist Labor in Science" and so on (p 226). We have cited a list of the themes which were successfully elaborated at the methodological seminars in Novosibirsk. It is obvious that this list could be continued, directing attention to the problems of the organization of scientific research, the cultivation of the civic position of the scientist, the control of the development of sociopsychological conditions in the scientific collective and so on.

R. G. Yanovskiy cites scientific works which were published in accordance with the results of the work of the methodological seminars in Novosibirsk. However, in this book we would have liked to have read, if only in brief, about the scientific conclusions which the author was able to formulate on the basis of the joint creative discussion of social problems by naturalists and social scientists.

The coverage of this problem in the book of R. G. Yanovskiy forces us to think about ways to further develop the cooperation of sociologists with the scientists of other specialties of the humanities, with the representatives of the natural sciences and technology and with practical managers. Unfortunately, at present such joint activity is being carried out infrequently.

The key question for the book concerns the ways of forming the personality of the scientist under present conditions. The author distinguishes in the structure of the social determination of the personality of the scientist three main levels: "the social milieu--as the general cause; the immediate social environment--as a specific special factor which influences the formation of the personality; the inner world of a person--as a subjective factor" (p 90). All these factors are studied in interconnection, and the stress is placed on the study of the dialectics of the process: the forming influence of the external environment is regarded as a means of increasing the activeness of the individual, and thereby of his reverse influence on the environment. We wish especially to emphasize this aspect of the matter, since in the discussion of the "socialization of the personality," which has received some dissemination in the past decade, the active position of the latter, as a rule, has remained in the background.

The complicated question of the typology of the personality of the Soviet man is solved in this work from the point of view of the typical traits of the group being studied. "For the formation of the personality of the scientist," the author notes, "such attributes as industry, education, a keenness of observation toward abstract generalizations, boldness in the promotion of ideas, the resolve and ability to defend them are necessary" (p 91). It is easy to see that such traits were characteristic of the representatives of advanced science in the past as well. Therefore, in the subsequent exposition the author also indicates the new traits which are begotten by the present stage of socialism: the increasing collectivity of the activity of scientists, the technicalization of their labor.

The frank, bold raising of unsolved or not completely solved problems of the formation of the personality of the Soviet scientist: the predominance of individual labor in some areas of the humanities (p 202), the influence of bourgeois ideas on some scientists, is characteristic of the book. It is well known how much effort and money the imperialist circles are spending in their propaganda which is aimed specifically at Soviet scientists. The 11th Congress of the International Political Science Association, which was held in Moscow in the summer of 1979, once again vividly showed that scientific contacts are being used at times by representatives of the West

also for the purposes of poisoning minds in the spirit of "psychological warfare."

Anti-Marxist concepts of various types about the role and place of the scientific intelligentsia under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution are criticized impressively and convincingly in the monograph.

The high rating of the book being reviewed does not mean that there are no gaps and shortcomings in it; let us add to what was said earlier that the sociologist would like to see in the book the more extensive use of the data of concrete sociological studies, and many of them have already been conducted in the scientific collectives in the country. The need has also arisen to generalize the experience of economic and social planning in the collectives of scientific research institutions. We express the hope that R. G. Yanovskiy in his subsequent works will also cover these questions, which are acquiring greater and greater scientific importance.

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CSO: 1806

MODELING IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 224-226

/Review by G. T. Zhuravlev of the book "Modelirovaniye v sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniyakh" (Modeling in Sociological Research) by I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada, V. N. Varygin and V. A. Makhalov, Moscow, "Nauka", 1978, 103 pages/

/Text/ Mathematical methods are an effective means of the thorough and precise analysis of social phenomena and processes. As S. P. Trapeznikov correctly noted, "the social sciences, which rest on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism, by their nature are exact sciences. Moreover, their research arsenal is being enriched more and more perceptibly by means of mathematical methods, the latest equipment, and first of all electronic computer hardware."[1]

One of the promising directions of the use of mathematical means in sociology is the modeling of social processes. In recent years a number of books and articles have been devoted to it. In some of them emphasis is placed on the construction of models, the elaboration of methods of describing social processes mathematically, in others--on measurement and the analysis of empirical data.

The book being reviewed belongs to the second direction. Various methods of the multivariate analysis of the results of sociological research, the search for cause-effect relations, the compact presentation of sociological information in a form convenient for its use are cited in it.

An unquestionable merit of the book is that the authors examine a wide range of questions which are connected with modeling, including the problems of the obtaining of basic data, the preliminary analysis of sociological information and the distinction of similar groups of phenomena (p 26). Thereby they emphasize that modeling does not reduce only to the construction of

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1. S. P. Trapeznikov, "Obshchestvennyye nauki--moguchiy ideynyy potentsial kommunizma" /The Social Sciences Are a Mighty Ideological Potential of Communism/, Moscow, 1974, pp 18-19.

a mathematic model as such, but presumes a thorough preliminary content analysis of the phenomenon in question from the point of view of historical materialism, the theory of scientific communism, as well as special sociological theories, within the framework of which the study is being conducted. Such an approach deserves support, since the mathematical modeling of social processes is an important, but still an auxiliary tool in the hands of the sociologist. The leading role in analysis belongs to the methods of general sociological theory, such as historical materialism is.

The generalization of domestic experience and the results of the modeling of social processes is an unquestionable merit of the book. The authors were able to overcome a significant shortcoming of other works on the problems of modeling--lack of contact with the practice of concrete sociological research. The book rests on very detailed studies and materials of the quantitative analysis of such social processes as migration, the change of social structure and others.

The authors correctly see the most important condition of success of the modeling of the phenomena being studied in the precise statement of problems and hypotheses (p 27). Unfortunately, often one still has occasion to encounter cases when broad questionnaires are compared, a large amount of empirical data is collected, and all this is without a specific goal. As a result money and time are wasted, while the materials in the form of questionnaires or tabulated forms and tables gather dust uselessly on the shelf.

One of the urgent problems of sociological research is the measurement of the properties of the objects being studied. Here, as a rule, nominal (classification) scales, which divide the population of objects into unordered, nonintersecting groups, as well as ordinal (rank) scales, which define the relationship between objects like "equality - inequality," "greater - smaller," are used. Interval scales and scales of relations, that is, procedures of measurement as such, are used considerably less often in sociological research.

And here, in our opinion, the authors are not at all correct when they assume that the frequent use of nominal and ordinal scales is caused by the objective properties of these attributes. In fact any content, any property of social phenomena can be expressed by means of an interval scale. And whereas for the present interval scales have not yet been developed for all attributes, this should be attributed to the costs of the development of applied sociology. There is no doubt that with time nominal and ordinal scales will be used less and less often, while interval scales will be used more and more often. But this means that the use of the classical equipment of statistical analysis, which is intended for quantitative attributes, will become customary.

Much attention in the book is devoted to the analysis of basic information, the evaluation of the importance of attributes, the identification of hidden factors and the distinction of similar groups of objects. The essence, merits and shortcomings of regression and dispersion methods, cluster

analysis, as well as the methods of recognition of images are set forth in concise form. The comparison of the indicated methods is an unquestionable merit of the work. This procedure makes it possible to show in a more graphic form, which method is most acceptable for the solution of one class of problems or another.

The authors correctly note that regression models have become most widespread in sociological research. In the book the difficulties which arise during the use of this method, the specific nature of the regression analysis of qualitative attributes and the structure of the interrelation of attributes are examined, interesting recommendations are suggested. Thus, in analyzing the construction of a regression model on the basis of the preliminary shift from qualitative attributes to quantitative attributes, the authors propose to use the method of multivariate scaling (p 80). Here they answer the question, under what conditions is it more feasible to use the dispersion, cluster and other methods. All this is very important, since the difficulties noticed by the authors face every sociologist, and far from all of them have experience in using regression models.

The examination of classification models also merits attention, since in the available textbooks there is no material on this question.

Thus, in the book the urgent problems of modeling are examined, the stages of preparation and the development of the models as such are described. At the same time the authors correctly admit that the problems of modeling do not end here, since "the development of comprehensive methods of analysis, which provide for the detailed preliminary analysis of the structure of the initial information, is an important means of increasing the effectiveness of the mathematical-statistical methods of modeling" (p 96).

Of course, the work is not lacking in some shortcomings. Thus, in it there are no concrete calculations when constructing the models. The cited formulas, which pertain to certain methods or others, are not raised to the level of figures. Therefore, you have to either believe the authors, that the result should be precisely that, or turn to the literature from which these examples were taken. In our opinion, if material which makes it possible to trace all the stages of the work with the model had been cited, this would made the book more intelligible and would have increased its practical importance.

It should also be stressed that not all the examples cited by the authors are fortunate. Thus, on pp 46-47 the progress of school pupils is discussed. On the one hand, this is not so great a social problem and, on the other, it is being solved more or less successfully. And we would like to see in the book, how the methods of modeling help to identify the most important trends and laws of the development of social processes and to solve the ripe questions of the building of communism. For the sake of fairness it is necessary to note that interesting facts connected with migration, the construction of an all-union sample and others are contained in the book. However, on the whole the authors did not approach strictly enough

the selection of illustrative material, therefore a number of examples of the successful use of the methods of model, which are available in domestic literature, remained unused.

At the same time it should be emphasized that the indicated shortcomings do not decrease the overall value and attractiveness of the book. The work will be useful to students, postgraduates and the researchers who are using or are planning to use quantitative methods of analysis in sociological research.

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CSO: 1806

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF SOVIET SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICESHKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 226-228

/Review by V. A. Yadov and M. A. Maksimov of the book "Teoriya i praktika sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniy v SSSR" (The Theory and Practice of Sociological Research in the USSR) by G. V. Osipov, Moscow, "Nauka", 1979, 343 pages/

/Text/ The book "Teoriya i praktika sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniy v SSSR" has been published. In the work the results of theoretical and empirical research, which has been conducted by Soviet sociologists in recent years, are generalized, a set of problems of sociological theory and practice, which are of the greatest importance for the development of Soviet sociology and the enhancement of its role in the building of communist, is analyzed. The history and present status of sociology are analyzed by the author, as a rule, in connection with the solution of theoretical and practical social problems which arose at different stages of social development.

The book consists of three sections. The first is devoted to methodological problems of the history of Marxist-Leninist sociology. The author reveals the internal logic of the views of K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin and singles out the ideas which were the basis for scientific sociological theory: 1) the materialistic approach to the study of society; 2) the unity of the theoretical and empirical approaches to social activity; 3) man and his practical activity as the starting point of knowledge. These principles--and here it is impossible not to agree with the author--are of permanent importance for the theory and practice of sociological research.

The history of Marxist-Leninist sociology in the USSR is still just being written. The work of G. V. Osipov is an important contribution to this work. It only has to be regretted that many questions of the development of sociology during the years of Soviet power are set forth in the book somewhat briefly. Nevertheless the author was able to reveal the characteristic traits of this process: the close connection with life; the unity of theory and method; the increase of the role of sociology and sociological research in the building of socialism and communism.

In the book the important conclusion is drawn that "the combination of the general sociological theory of Marxism-Leninism--historical materialism--and social practice" (p 41) became the main result of the development of sociology in the USSR. The Communist Party and above all the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses and the new USSR Constitution direct the attention of Soviet scientists precisely toward this. In light of their provisions the author shares the views about the prospects of the development of Marxist-Leninist sociology, outlines the most important, in his opinion, directions of sociological research and substantiates the only true approach to this problem--the conducting of any study should be aimed at the improvement of the socialist way of life and its development into a communist way of life.

The second part of the book is devoted to the subject and theoretical orientations of modern bourgeois sociology. Is the inclusion in a work on Marxist-Leninist sociological science and practice of a large section on western sociology legitimate? Having become familiar with it, it should be stressed that its presence in the book is completely justified.

The author analyzed the main trends of modern bourgeois sociology. Of course, it is impossible to solve completely such a problem on several tens of pages, and therefore some questions remained outside the book, others were covered only in part. But on the whole G. V. Osipov was able to demonstrate clearly that the idealistic methodology of bourgeois sociology and its service to the interests of capital were responsible for its inability to perceive social reality adequately, and at the same time to determine the prospects of the development of western society. Hence the conscious eclecticism, the withdrawal from the study and solution of major and important social problems, the advancement of sociopolitical concepts which are utopian and pessimistic in their nature, the defense of antihumanistic, technicistic ideals.

Such a situation is not only evidence of the crisis of bourgeois ideology as a whole and sociology in particular. In the confrontation of bourgeois and socialist sociology another aspect is not less important--the crisis of bourgeois social science enhances the role and responsibility of Marxist sociologists and all Marxist-Leninist sociology in the solution of vital questions of social development.

The third section, which is devoted to theoretical and methodological problems of the present stage of development of Marxist-Leninist sociology occupies a central place in the book. On the basis of the generalization of the theory and practice of sociological research an attempt was made to construct a logically noncontradictory and well-balanced concept of the role and place of sociology in the system of social sciences.

In the book it is shown that during the discussion of this problem the view of sociology as an independent science, which has its own subject and method and its own place in the system of sciences, emerged and gradually overcame.

In the opinion of the author, sociology is neither "a system of sciences" nor "a fourth component of Marxism." The question of the relationship of sociology and philosophy, particularly historical materialism, should be solved on a concrete historical basis. At the present stage of development of the social sciences "as a general sociological theory Marxist-Leninist sociology coincides with historical materialism, but this coincidence does not signify their identity, since Marxist-Leninist sociology is not only a general sociological theory, but also a science of the laws of the functioning of a given society; a science which includes in its subject along with the study of the laws of the development and functioning of socio-economic formations special theories, as well as concrete sociological research" (p 179).

The determination of the place of Marxist-Leninist sociology in the system of philosophical and social sciences made it possible to distinguish the specific features of sociological science, to indicate its subject and the object of study--such is the fundamental conclusion of the author. "Marxist-Leninist sociology," he writes, citing "Rabochaya kniga sotsiologa" /The Workbook of the Sociologist/, "is the science of the general and specific laws of the functioning and development of socio-economic formations, of the mechanisms of the effect and the forms of the manifestation of these laws in the activity of individuals, social groups, classes, peoples" (p 181).

This definition outlines quite completely the sphere of sociological knowledge. In singling out as the object of study social relations, that is, the conscious interrelation of individuals in one form or another, sociology concentrates on the study of the mechanisms of interaction and on the conditions of the functioning and development of society and their manifestation in the activity of people (individuals, social groups, strata and so on).

As to the question of the relationship of sociological and social research, it should be noted that the author complicates this problem a little. On the one hand, the features of a sociological study, in his opinion, are characteristic of any social study, since in both cases social laws are being studied, on the other hand, sociological research is a modification of social research (pp 181-182). In our opinion, it is necessary to agree with the opinion of Academician V. F. Konstantinov and Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. N. Rutkevich, who suggest that sociological research is a part of social research and has no direct bearing on socio-economic, sociopolitical and other research.

Like any developed science, sociology is divided into a theoretical and an applied section. In addition to the theoretical and empirical levels it also includes a broad spectrum of sociological theories of a different level of generality (for example, the theory of personality, the theory of value orientations, the theory of social purpose and so on). They all--and here we cannot but agree with the author--act as components of the structure of sociological science as a single whole, and do not belong to the sphere of applied sociology, as some scientists believe.

Unfortunately, there is no detailed generalization of the theories of the "middle level" in the book. Of course, at the present stage of development of sociology sufficient material has not yet been gathered for this. At the same time such special sociological theories as the theory of labor collectives, labor activity, marriage and the family and a number of others have a high level of development, which makes it possible to begin their comprehensive analysis and generalization.

Much attention in the work is devoted to the study of the laws of the functioning of society as a system, the effect and content of social laws. The author comes to a conclusion which is important both theoretically and practically--under the conditions of socialism, when the functioning of social systems is of a purposeful nature, the mean resultant of the actions and relations of individuals tends toward the maximum approximation of the requirement of social laws.

The attempt at a systems approach to the examination of society (which, it seems to us, was carried out very successfully in the book) merits every type of support. At the same time the question of the place of this approach in the system of social knowledge naturally arises. Whereas the questions of the mechanisms of the effect and manifestation of social laws traditionally belong to the problems of historical materialism, the elaboration of the problem of the functioning of society as a system will be most productive, in our opinion, within the framework of sociological theory. These questions have not yet been properly reflected in our literature, including the book being reviewed.

The system of indices and indicators of social development, which was proposed in the book, was the natural result of the generalization of the theory and practice of sociological research in the USSR. Social indices and indicators make it possible to establish the "reference points" of social changes, that is, the degree of realization of the objective requirements of social laws. In this connection the problem of the inclusion of the system of social indices in the overall system of national economic planning of the country and of the development of complex socio-economic models of various phenomena and processes of socialist society acquires a practical meaning.

Thus, the author was able to demonstrate convincingly that Marxist-Leninist sociology in the USSR "actively serves the goals of the solution of the social problems of building communism... is an effective weapon in the hands of the Communist Party and the Soviet people in the struggle for the complete triumph of communism" (p 261).

Of course, the work does not aspire to a comprehensive generalization and solution of the raised problems. A number of its theses, as was already noted, require refinement and expansion. The overly detailed exposition of special problems is also encountered in the book, which, of course, decreases the general theoretical level of the work (for example, questions of the organization of propaganda). The principles of the selection of

the literature and the organization of the bibliography are not entirely clear.

Perhaps the assumptions, which, it seems to us, have already become firmly established in our sociological literature, will evoke a new wave of discussion. And we have only to thank the author for that. G. V. Osipov addressed the most heated points and problems of the development of our sociology and boldly undertook their solution. It seems that the book will become a solid foundation in the important and difficult work on the comprehension of the theory and practice of USSR sociological research.

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SOVIET URBAN FAMILY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 228-230

/Review by M. S. Matskovskiy of the book "Gorodskaya sem'ya" (The Urban Family) by Z. A. Yankova, Moscow, "Nauka", 1979, 183 pages/

/Text/ Soviet sociological science has been enriched by another work which is devoted to the analysis of the structure and functions of the urban family of the mature socialist society. As the number of monographs and articles on the problems of marriage and the family increases (and in the past 15 years more than 1,000 of them have been published in our country), it becomes more and more difficult to analyze these problems. Much has already been studied, many things have been described, a number of surveys have been published.

What contribution to family studies is made by the author of the book being reviewed, what makes it possible to consider it topical and important?

First of all the monograph is evidence of the fact that Soviet science is shifting from the study of the general laws of the development of marital and family relations in the USSR to the examination of concrete forms of the functioning of the family, that is, the process of the specialization of knowledge is taking place. The selection of the Muscovite family as the subject of study makes it possible to examine in detail its peculiarities and directs the attention of future researchers to the comparable analysis of other localized family communities.

Of the theoretical and methodological questions, which were touched upon in the book, the development of the principles of constructing a typology of families is of the greatest interest. In analyzing the classifications developed by demographers and economists, Z. A. Yankova correctly notes that, although they were very useful for the study of a number of most important demographic processes--the birth rate, migration and so on--these classifications cannot be used when examining many other aspects of the functioning and development of the family. In this connection the attempt made by the author to develop a typology of families, at the basis of which are the way of life, the structure and functions of the family community, is very important.

A considerable portion of the book is devoted to the analysis of the results of empirical studies of the urban family, which which have been conducted in recent years by the Sector of Social Problems of the Family and Everyday Life of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Let us dwell on the most interesting ones.

New empirical materials on the structure of authority in the family enabled the author to describe not only the different forms of supremacy, but also its motives. In particular, among the motives of male supremacy such motives as "the assurance of prosperity," "authority in the family," "life experience," "traditions," "character," "concern about the family" are the most widespread. In an analogous hierarchy of the motives of female supremacy the extremes of the series change places, the others are arranged in the same sequence (pp 99-100). The analysis which was made enabled the author to draw a conclusion which is important on the theoretical and practical level: although in the modern urban family the notions of the husband breadwinner and the housewife are still preserved, they contradict the real relations which conform more and more often to the egalitarian structure of authority and demonstrate the actual equality of women and men.

Data pertaining to another important aspect of the vital activity of the family--its relations with relatives and neighbors--are generalized in the book. In particular, the conclusion arrived at on the basis of empirical material, that "as the average income per family member grows and the education of spouses increases, the volume of materials services rendered by families decreases and the volume of information services increases" (p 137), is of interest. The empirically reasoned assertion of the author that serious contradictions are observed between the aims of city dwellers at contacts with neighbors and the real rate of these contacts, also merits attention. Thus, 75 percent of those surveyed are in favor of friendly relations, mutual assistance and joint public activity, while more than 60 percent of the respondents do not have any contacts with neighbors, and many even are not acquainted with them (p 138). In the book the great importance of contact with the micro-environment for women who have children, for retirees and adolescents is correctly emphasized.

The analysis made by the author of the conflicts between spouses in each of the four groups of families, which were distinguished subject to the structure of authority and the nature of conjugal relations, and the characterization of the specific nature of these conflicts merit attention.

The monograph contains a number of new empirical data which enrich the information about the modern family. Their validity is confirmed by the broad source study base of the investigation and by the enlistment of materials of the secondary analysis of special literature, demographic statistics and concrete sociological research.

At the same time the work is not free of shortcomings. Taking into account that the author is continuing the study of the way of life of urban families, we would like to dwell on some of them. Thus, so far the specific nature of

the conditions of the vital activity of the urban family has not been thoroughly studied, the influence of the consequences of urbanization on the regional change of marital and family relations has not been completely revealed, the peculiarities of the way of life, which are forming under the influence of the specific nature of local conditions, are not shown; after all, the Muscovite family differs substantially from the Tashkent or Yerevan family. The author should have used more extensively the results of philosophical, sociological and economic works, which are devoted to the way of life of the urban population, to the change of the consciousness of people who come from the village under the influence of life in the city and so on.

The lack of internal unity of the chapters is also a shortcoming of the book: their sequence is far from always justified (for example, Chapter IV, which contains a description of the reproductive function of the family, is placed before Chapter VI, in which the structure and functions of the family are examined).

The fragmentary, at times random use of foreign materials also does not embellish the monograph. In the book the concepts of foreign authors are virtually not examined, only individual statements by them are criticized. For example, the works of W. Key, M. Axelrod, A. Haller and other well-known specialists in the field of the sociology of the urban family were not adequately analyzed. The author cites a number of foreign studies written in the 1950's and 1960's, some of which are already obsolete.

Of course, the listed shortcomings tell to some extent on the scientific value of the book of Z. A. Yankova. However, they do not prevent us from concluding that the author has done much and largely productive work, the results of which make it possible to understand the complex processes which occur in the modern urban family.

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YOUNG WORKERS IN THE GDR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 230-232

/Review by V. S. Khudaverdyan of the book "Jugendliche im Grossbetrieb. Studie zum gewerkschaftlichen und politischen Bewusstsein arbeitender Jugendlicher," compiled by V. J. H. Heiseler, Frankfurt/Main, IMSF, 1978, 268 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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COMPLEX SOCIO-ECONOMIC RESEARCH

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 232-233

/Review by D. A. Kerimov of the book "Kompleksnoye sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoye issledovaniye (teoretiko-metodologicheskiy aspekt)" (Complex Socio-Economic Research /The Theoretical and Methodological Aspect/) by A. V. Dmitriyev, O. I. Ivanov and V. B. Golofast, Leningrad, "Nauka", 1978, 198 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806

HUMAN ACTIVITY AND CONTACT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 233-235

/Review by L. V. Sokhan' and N. A. Shul'ga of the book "Chelovek: deyatel'nost' i obshcheniye" (Man: Activity and Contact) by L. P. Buyeva, Moscow, "Mysl'", 1978, 216 pages/

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SCALING IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 235-236

/Review by L. D. Doktorova of the book "Shkalirovanive pri sbore i analize sotsiologicheskoy informatsii" (Scaling During the Gathering and Analysis of Sociological Information) by S. A. Kliger, M. S. Kosolapov and Yu. N. Tolstova, Moscow, "Nauka", 1978, 111 pages/

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/Review by G. K. Ashin of the book "Kritika sovremennoy burzhuaznoy sotsiologii iskusstva" (Criticism of Modern Bourgeois Sociology of Art), compiled by A. V. Mikaylov, editor in chief A. A. Karyagin, Moscow, "Nauka", 1978, 272 pages/

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/Review by B. S. Arkhipov of the book "Sotsiologicheski problemi na v"zpitaniyeto" (Sociological Problems of Education), Sofia, Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management attached to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Center for the Theory and Control of Social Processes, 1978, 370 pages/

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/Review by N. V. Malyarova of the book "The American Family: Past, Present and Future" by M. Gordon, New York, 1978, 401 pages/

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/Review by T. A. Yakovleva of the book "Razvitiye sel'skikh poseleniy" (The Development of Rural Settlements), edited by T. I. Zaslavskaya and T. B. Muchnik, Moscow, "Statistika", 1977, 295 pages/

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BOURGEOIS CONCEPTS OF MENTAL MANIPULATION

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/Review by M. S. Komarov of the book "V labirintakh burzhuaznogo soznaniya. Kritika kontseptsiy dukhovnogo manipulirovaniya" (In the Labyrinths of Bourgeois Consciousness. Criticism of the Concepts of Mental Manipulation) by the collective of authors V. D. Granov (editor in chief), Ye. V. Osipova and P. S. Gurevich, Moscow, "Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya", 1978, 232 pages/

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LIFESPAN AND MORTALITY

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/Review by A. A. Petrakov of the book "Evolyutsiya prodolzhitel'nosti zhizni" (Evolution of Lifespan) by B. Ts. Urlanis, Moscow, "Statistika", 1978, 303 pages/

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SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 1980

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SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONAL WORK

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/Text/ The comprehensive approach to the solution of all economic, social, political and ideological problems, which was regarded as of paramount importance by the 25th CPSU Congress, was further developed in the subsequent organizational and ideological activity of the party, in the CPSU Central Committee decrees "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" and "On the Further Improvement of the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs," in the joint decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the improvement of planning and the intensification of the influence of the economic mechanism on the increase of production efficiency and work quality, as well as in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Improvement of Work on Maintaining Law and Order and the Stepping Up of the Drive Against Offenses."

The goal of these historic documents is to raise ideological, political, educational and economic work to a new, higher level, to bring it in line with the requirements of the stage of mature socialism, to achieve a considerable increase of the efficiency of social production, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the growth of labor productivity and the improvement of product quality and on this basis to ensure the further improvement of the socialist way of life and the development of the economy of the country and the culture of the Soviet people. In speaking about the ways and means of accomplishing this most important task, it is necessary to emphasize first of all the integral relationship and interconditionality of its main aspects.

Under present conditions, as never before, Lenin's principle of the unity of economic organizing and cultural educational activity is being actualized. Here, in raising national economic planning and management to a new, higher level, the party is relying on the achievements of ideological educational work and at the same time is creating the socio-economic conditions for the stepping up of the drive against crime and other antisocial manifestations and for the cardinal improvement of the entire matter of the communist education of the masses.

The implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decrees requires the further increase of the practical effectiveness of the scientific research of social processes, the quickest possible elimination of those shortcomings in the organization and planning of science, which still hinder the achievement of this goal. Especially great responsibility is being placed on the shoulders of scholars who are engaged in the elaboration of the problems of industrial sociology, training and education and the campaign against crime and immorality, as well as on plant sociologists who work directly at enterprises and in production associations.

The period of the formation of sociology as a science has been left behind. Today sociology is involved in the solution of the fundamental problems of the life of society, which determine the rate of our progress. Research in the field of historical materialism as the science of the general laws of the development of society and the general sociological theory of Marxism, as the methodology of the knowledge of social phenomena and the revolutionary transformation of the world is of particular importance for increasing the practical potential of sociology.

As the journal KOMMUNIST notes, in recent years the group of categories and concepts of historical materialism has increased considerably. "Considerable attention has been devoted to the study of the categories of needs, interests, motives, objectives, the social goal and value. Sociophilosophical research in the area of the theory of labor activity, especially socialist labor, its content, nature and role in the formation of the socialist type of personality, is of great theoretical and practical importance. Appreciable progress has been achieved in the study of the problem of man, the typology of personality and the theory of culture."[1] The problems of the laws of the functioning and development of society have been supplemented by the concept of the mechanism of their effect and use. The doctrine of the subjective factor of social progress has undergone earnest elaboration. A certain progress in such new important scientific trends as the sociology of science, the science of science and engineering psychology, in the solution of environmental protection problems and in the elaboration of methodological problems of the automation of production and control and others is also noted in the article. The range of research on the problems of the scientific management of society and the methodology of planning social development has been extended. The study of the problems of ethics, the moral relations of the mature socialist society, the social-humanistic orientation of science and the moral responsibility of scientists has been stepped up.[2] This research has promoted the enrichment of the methodological and methods arsenal of sociology and the increase of the reliability and specificity of its practical conclusions and recommendations. However, still far from all publications on general theoretical problems of sociology meet the increased demands of practice.

In many of these publications "the thoughtless repetition of long known theses without their theoretical development, without any connection with the concrete experience of history and science, life, the fear to boldly raise new questions, labored 'innovations' within the scholastic set of

concepts, the play with definitions, the replacement of the scientific analysis of problems and theoretical reasoning with quotation-mongering and illustrations still occur. All this is a manifestation of the scholastic theorizing which was sharply condemned at the 25th CPSU Congress."[3] Of course, such theorizing does great harm both to the prestige of sociology and to its practical effectiveness. Especially as the meaning even of those theses, the veracity of which was proven long ago by life, is frequently distorted in scholastic passages.

The opinion exists that scholastic theorizing in sociology is in opposition to empiricism. In reality they are two aspects of a single phenomenon--the metaphysical nature of scientific thought, the inability of the researcher to combine dialectically the theoretical and empirical methods of scientific analysis and to observe the necessary proportions in the application of the main forms of comprehension of the truth: induction and deduction. In every individual sociological study, no matter on what scale and on what level it is conducted, the general theory should be given concrete expression and should promote the elaboration of a system of concepts which ensure the typification, grouping and analysis of the empirical material. Attempts to single out simply empirically the various social factors which influence the social process being studied, with the subsequent calculation of their correlations, for all the semblance of "scientificness" can lead at times, as practice shows, to erroneous conclusions.

Social communities and institutions, which are studied by historical materialism from the point of view of their place and role in social life, might become and are becoming the object of special scientific research as the problems connected with them are elaborated theoretically and factual material is accumulated. And although it is still not always possible to clearly delimit the new fields of sociological knowledge, which are taking shape, from certain aspects or others of the already established social sciences, for example, economic and legal sciences, there is no doubt that an intensive process of the development of sociology not only in depth, but also in breadth is taking place before our eyes. Therefore the task is not to establish rigid barriers between sociology and other sciences, but to create all the conditions for the development of new fields of sociology, which are aimed at the study of important problems indispensable to society and which rely on the theory, principles and methodology of historical materialism.

The most important thing is that "modern social development places in the forefront problems which are mainly of a complex nature and require the uniting of the efforts of the representatives of various social... sciences."[4] In this connection the synthesizing, integrative role of Marxist-Leninist sociology is enhanced. This role is manifested first of all in the elaboration and refinement of the methodological principles used in the concrete sciences, in the overcoming of the discreteness in terminology and methods. Comprehensive research is of particular importance for sociology. The reasons for this are, first, gnoseological, which are connected with the fact that for serious philosophical conclusions it is not enough to

limit oneself to a knowledge of only individual facts, it is necessary to understand their intrinsic interdependence, the /trends of development/ /in boldface/; second, they are social, which are connected with the intensification of the interaction of economics, politics and ideology, science and technology, art and morality, objective and subjective factors in social life.

One of the most effective ways to overcome the shortcomings, which are characteristic of the present stage of development of sociological science, and to strengthen its ties with practice is the increase of the exactingness on the research being conducted and the development of criticism and self-criticism in scientific work. "The adherence to party principles and communist enthusiasm, which are combined with the objectivity and conscientiousness of criticism, are the most important condition of creative scientific work. The classical works of Marx, Engels and Lenin give lofty examples of such criticism."[5] It is the party, scientific and moral duty of sociological personnel to follow these examples.

The systematic increase of the effectiveness and quality of research is the main condition of the effectiveness of sociological science in the fulfillment of its lofty mission--to promote in every possible way the implementation of the historic decrees of the CPSU Central Committee on the further improvement of economic organizing and ideological work.

The enhancement of the role of the state plan as the main tool of the implementation of the socio-economic policy of the party occupies the most important place among the measures to improve the economic mechanism, which were stipulated by the party and the government. The five-year plan remains the main form of planning of the economic and social development of the country and the organization of all economic activity. It will be based on long-term comprehensive socio-economic scientific and technical programs and will be compiled on the basis of scientifically sound norms and standards according to the types of jobs, the expenditures of labor, raw materials, fuel and energy, productive capital and unit capital investments.

Much attention in the decree on questions of improving the economic mechanism is devoted to the social aspects of planning. This ensues directly from the principle set down in the USSR Constitution that state plans are plans of economic and social development. A consolidated section on an entire set of measures in the social field is called for in the state plans of economic and social development of the USSR, the union and autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, cities and rayons, as well as of ministries, departments, associations, enterprises and organizations. Measures on the improvement of working conditions, the increase of the qualifications and occupational skills of workers, the improvement of the housing, cultural and everyday conditions of life, medical service and other measures, which should be linked with the assignments on the development of production and capital construction, belong here. The indicators on labor and among them such an important indicator as the reduction of the use of manual labor are especially singled out.

The proper conclusions follow from the fact that our plans are at the same time plans of economic and social development. The practice of drafting social plans regardless of the economic plans and economic plans apart from the social plans, which still frequently occurs, reflects the past of planning, not only has serious organizational deficiencies, which to a considerable extent decrease the effectiveness of development programs, but in principle is also incorrect due to the artificial separation of the anticipated results of each measure. As M. A. Suslov noted at the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers, "wherever economic personnel do not take into account the educational consequences of their activity, the creative initiative of the masses is also not completely revealed, conscious discipline gives way of formal discipline, the proper moral and psychological climate in the collective does not arise, in the end the production results also suffer."[6]

Any measure, regardless of which of the narrow goal programs within which it is implemented, ensures the achievement of a certain impact simultaneously in several directions. Thus, the introduction of more advanced equipment and technology ensures, as a rule, not only an increase of the capacities of some production section, but also an increase of labor productivity, better product quality, changes the working conditions and pay, presumes the greater skill of the workers and so forth. The increase of the general educational level of workers in turns not only promotes the increase of their labor and social activeness, but also entails the better utilization of modern equipment, the increase of the number of rationalization proposals and the decrease of wastage in production. The proper organization of relaxation, the improvement of the health and the physical training of workers reduce the tiredness in the labor process, reduce the number and duration of illnesses and thereby promote an increase of production efficiency and an improvement of the structure and breakdown of working time.

These examples objectively attest to the integral unity of all the social, economic, organizational and technical measures being implemented at enterprises and, consequently, to the need to combine them all into a single comprehensive plan of economic and social development. At the same time the state of the elaboration of the theoretical, methodological, methods and organizational problems of coordinating the social, economic, technical and organizational sections of the plans still does not meet the present requirements of science and practice, which, to be sure, affects the quality of planning.

The party and the government consider the further strengthening of the interrelationship of sectorial and territorial planning to be an important direction of the increase of the efficiency of social production. Only with the proportionate coordinated development of the various sectors of a given region (republic, kray, oblast) is it possible to achieve the rational use of manpower, material and financial resources and to attain a real balance for the national economy as a whole.

In this connection sociological science is faced with the practical task of developing a system of comprehensive indicators for evaluating the level of social development of the production collective, which is coordinated with the indicators that are used in compiling the plans of the economic and social development of territorial, sectorial and territorial-sectorial production complexes. By means of such indicators it will be possible to compare different production collectives with each other and to determine their place in the sectorial and regional structure both according to a uniform criterion and from the point of view of the individual directions of social development, which in turn will facilitate the pursuit of a uniform social policy and will make it possible to use manpower, material and financial resources more rationally.

The goal programs of the development of individual regions, and first of all in the eastern part of the country, are the most important component of the state long-range plans of economic and social development. "The importance of Siberia and the Far East in the development of the state," it was noted in the report of A. P. Kirilenko at the solemn meeting devoted to the 62d anniversary of Great October, "will increase even more with the completion of the construction of the Baykal-Amur Main Rail Line, which will make it possible in addition to commit new natural resources to economic circulation, will cause the emergence of cities and industrial centers and will transform this vast region of Soviet land."[7]

The development of new territories, the creation of new territorial production complexes and the construction of new cities always involve the solution of a number of complicated social problems, such as the problems of the formation of the collective, the turnover of personnel, cultural, social and personal service and so on. How should they be solved in the regions of development? How does the development of new territorial communities of people take place? What promotes and what impedes this process? Sociology should in practice answer all these and similar questions.

The decisions of the party and the government provide for the further increase of the involvement of workers in production management, particularly in the drafting of the five-year and annual plans. The compiling of the annual plan will begin "from below"--from the production associations (enterprises). Here, on the basis of the development of socialist competition and the use of internal economic reserves, counterplans will be drafted which exceed the assignments set for the corresponding year, on the basis of the assignment for the five-year plan. In this connection the rights and opportunities of labor collectives in the planning and organization of production are extended substantially, more favorable conditions are created for the active participation of the workers in management and the further development of their initiative and independence.

The party is directing the attention of Soviet sociologists to the more thorough study of the problems of the participation of workers in management. Unfortunately, in life there are still quite a number of examples of the formal involvement of workers in the solution of problems of importance

for enterprises, when the activity of a narrow group of specialists is passed off as the creative work of the general public; life shows that the appearance of new public organizations does not always lead to a qualitative increase of the participation of workers in management, that the increase of the proportion of workers in public organs is often artificial and in itself does not attest to the level of their activeness. Scientists are faced with the task of elaborating sociological methods of evaluating the participation of workers in production management, by means of which it would be possible to determine its real level and the specific possibilities in the matter of increasing the efficiency and quality of social production.

The influence of the economic mechanism on the social activeness of the workers shows up first of all through the system of plan indicators. The need to improve the entire system of indicators, which are the basis for the evaluation of the activity of ministries, associations and enterprises, and first of all the efficiency and quality of their work, was indicated at the 25th CPSU Congress.[8] The main drawback of the system of indicators now being used is that in some cases it created a discrepancy between the interests of society and of the given labor collective. The measures stipulated by the party and the government are called upon to preclude the possibility of the appearance of such discrepancies by means of the introduction of a new system of plan indicators and the development of cost accounting with the economic levers and stimuli, which are inherent in it. The evaluation of the results of the economic activity of production associations and enterprises will be made subject to the fulfillment of the plans of deliveries of products according to the products list and on time in conformity with concluded contracts (orders), the increase of labor productivity, the improvement of product quality and the increase of the profit. Two of the mentioned indicators (the fulfillment of the plans of the deliveries of products to customers and the quality of items) characterize the degree of satisfaction of demands and two (labor productivity and the profit) characterize the efficiency of the use of resources.

An enormous role is assigned to the indicator of labor productivity, which now will be calculated not on an item-by-item basis, as before, but according to the net production (the standard production). The net production is the newly created value, the end result of the labor expended by the given collective. When calculating the net product there are excluded from the gross product, which is specified in wholesale prices, all the material expenditures on its production--the cost of the used raw materials, the materials, fuel and power, the depreciation of the fixed capital. This makes it possible to "clear" the end results of the influence of the labor of others, eliminates the interest of enterprises in increasing the materials-output ratio of production, increases the interest in reducing the labor-output ratio of items and eliminates the contradiction which now occurs in determining the labor productivity, when as a result, for example, of the gradual replacement of cast parts with cheaper welded parts an imaginary decline of labor productivity occurs. What is advantageous to society also becomes advantageous to the collective of the enterprise.

The importance of the profit as a generalizing expression of the results of the economic and financial activity of the enterprise is increasing substantially in the system of indicators of the evaluation of the work of the collective. "New here," as A. N. Kosygin points out, "is the gradual changeover to the distribution of the profit according to the standards which are set in the five-year plan with a distribution by years."9

What is the point of such a distribution of the profit? As is known, the basic principle of cost accounting is the timely recovery of the expenditures on the production of products. When selling its goods at set prices, the enterprise should cover the current expenses and obtain a profit, which is used, on the one hand, for meeting the demand of the entire society and, on the other, for the further development of production itself and the stimulation of collectives for conscientious labor. It is envisaged that the profit obtained by the enterprise will be divided according to stable long-term standards into three shares: one of them is for society, another is for the development of production at the given enterprise and the third is for giving an incentive to the collective. The share of the profit, which remains at the disposal of the enterprise, is known beforehand (the stable standard), and therefore, when increasing the profit, the enterprise increases not only the payments to the budget, but also the absolute amount of the assets which it can use for giving incentives to the workers and improving their living and everyday conditions.

Sociological science should not remain aloof of the analysis of the influence of new economic indicators and the new procedure of distributing the profit on the labor activeness of the workers of enterprises and the moral and psychological atmosphere in the collectives.

Sociologists are devoting much attention to the study of the systems of material and moral stimulation, which are in use at enterprises. Studies clearly show that their effectiveness directly depends on the extent to which the reasons for the labor activity of a person, the demands and interests of different groups of workers are taken into account when organizing stimulation. Unfortunately, the conclusions of scientists do not always find their way into practice. This is connected both with the weakness of the sociological services of enterprises and with the fact that the economic services, the workers of which still distrust the recommendations of sociologists, deal with the questions of organizing stimulation at enterprises. Meanwhile, experience shows that an effective system of stimulation cannot be set up without consideration of the sociological and sociopsychological factors. Intuition, by which economists are sometimes guided when solving these questions, in this case is a poor helper.

At present the rights of associations and enterprises in the stimulation of workers are being extended considerably. They have been granted the opportunity by means of the saving on the wage fund, which was obtained as against the established standard, to pay increments to the wage rates of workers for the combining of occupations and the performance of the established amount of work with fewer workers. For the purposes of encouraging

workers who have displayed initiative in the introduction of technically sound norms and their timely revision, provision is made for the payment to them of a one-time lump award by means of the saving obtained as a result of the revision of the norms. In this connection the role of sociological research in determining the most effective forms of stimulation is increasing more and more.

The many years of experience of the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant, the Kirov Plant, the Kaluga Turbine Plant and a number of other enterprises showed the advantages of the brigade form of labor organization. During the 11th Five-Year Plan this form should become the main one. The collectives (councils) of production brigades are granted the right within the limit of the standards and assets established for them to determine the amounts of the bonuses and wages, which are paid for the results of the work of the entire collective of the brigade, with allowance made for the real contribution of each person to the overall results of the work. They can recommend brigade members for the establishment of increments and supplementary payments for occupational skill and the combining of occupations, can recommend that the administration and the trade union organization change in conformity with regulations the category of a worker with allowance made for the quality of his work, can determine the winners of the socialist competition within the brigade and the amounts of their incentives and can nominate candidates for material and moral incentives according to the results of the intraplant socialist competition.

The recommendations drawn up on the basis of sociological research can play an important role in the matter of creating brigades with pay according to the end results. The analysis of the corresponding experience of the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant, the Kirov Plant and the L'vov Elektron Production Association showed, in particular, that sociopsychological factors have a great influence on the effectiveness of the brigade form of labor organization. The changeover to the brigade form of labor organization requires the overcoming of the psychological barrier caused by the long-standing custom of both the workers and the administration of doing individual piecework. It is very important here to observe democratic principles when forming brigades: the voluntary nature of the enrollment of workers in brigades, the independent nomination for brigade leader and the choice of the form of the distribution of wages. The failure to observe these principles leads to the appearance of friction within the brigades and even to their breakdown.

The fulfillment of the tasks set by the party on improving the economic mechanism is impossible without the thorough study of the social processes taking place in the labor collectives. In this connection the role and importance of the sociological service at industrial enterprises and in associations are increasing. At present the effectiveness of these services is still small, both owing to their small number and due to the lack of solution of many important questions, which are connected with the determination of the place and status of the sociological service in the structure of the industrial enterprise, its role in the scientific management of production, its interaction with other functional services and so on.

The quality of a large number of studies being conducted by plant sociologists still does not satisfy economic managers, especially as such studies often last seven to eight months each. This arouses a skeptical attitude toward the work of the sociologist and belittles his role in the life of the collective. Obviously, only if the studies are carried out efficiently and yield a distinct impact, can the sociological service at the enterprise aspire to recognition and development. In order to achieve this, it is necessary first of all to solve two problems.

The first problem is connected with the need to provide the plant sociologist with a set of standard programs and methods, which would afford him an opportunity to quickly and skillfully conduct studies and elaborate the corresponding recommendations on the management of social processes at the enterprise. Now it is already possible with complete certainty to outline a group of problems which the plant sociologist has to solve: the problems of the stabilization of personnel and the tightening up of labor discipline, the attitude toward labor and satisfaction with work, the regulation of the moral and psychological climate in the primary production collectives, the stimulation of labor and the improvement of the organization of socialist competition, the effectiveness of cultural and educational work and a number of others. The elaboration of standard programs and methods of research on such themes at present is not especially difficult. Here it depends, apparently, on the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which should better organize this work and carry it out to the end.

The second problem is connected with the vocational training of sociologists. In many cases the low skill of the people holding the positions of sociologists at enterprises seriously affects the reliability of the studies being conducted by them and the recommendations being drawn up on their basis. Meanwhile, the questions of increasing the occupational level of plant sociologists remain unsolved, just as does the problem of their training at higher educational institutions.

A thorough substantiation of the enormous importance, which social, human and psychological factors, the conscientiousness of the workers, the culture of their interrelations and the entire atmostphere of the labor and vital activity of the collective have in modern production, is given in the CPSU Central Committee decrees. Sociological science is called upon not only to identify the losses, which our society bears due to the lack of discipline, the turnover of personnel and the inability to fully utilize the enormous advantages of the socialist system of management, but also to enrich the advanced know-how in this most important area of the struggle for communism. Sociological research is impossible without well-considered and prepared experiments. So far such experiments have frequently been conducted without the participation of sociologists and social psychologists; this, of course, increases the degree of risk that an innovation will not live up to the expectations connected with it. And even in the case of the success of an experiment it may remain a local phenomenon and not be spread in due time to other enterprises, without the identification of the conditions under which such dissemination will yield the maximum impact.

It is well known that in production management, in the organization of socialist competition, in the struggle against antisocial phenomena and in educational and ideological work there are still many cases of formalism and a company mentality, and they are not always caused only by the lack of conscientiousness or competence. Often formalism is the objective consequence of the inadequate study of the question, how will an innovation, which yielded good results at one enterprise, "behave" under the specific conditions of another one. Therefore, the elimination of formalism and a company mentality to a considerable extent depends on the scientific soundness not only of the personnel policy, but also of each administrative decision, on its consideration not only of the purely production consequences, but also of the moral and psychological consequences.

Sociological studies of the influence, on the one hand, of economic organizing work on the solution of ideological problems and, on the other, of the preventive and educational activity of labor collectives on production efficiency and quality should occupy an especially important place in light of the CPSU Central Committee decrees. Studies of this kind in turn require the careful elaboration of a system of indicators of the effectiveness and quality of both labor and education. At present the effectiveness of propaganda and ideological work as a whole is measured and evaluated primarily by one measure: the number (of "measures," students, participants in amateur activity, broadcasts), number of copies (of printed publications, copies of films) and so on. Here even the quantitative indicators often appear in the reports in shortened form. Thus, for example, when speaking about the number of copies of brochures, usually it is not indicated, what portion of this number of copies has been bought up, and what portion has gone for waste paper, being information on the number of people who engaged in a sport during some year, the attention of superior organizations is far from always concentrated on what portion of this number went to stadiums and sports halls regularly, and what portion only took part in the annual mass cross country race. As a result it is often necessary to note a contradiction between the impressive quantitative indicators and the very modest results of the performed work, that is, in the end the low effectiveness of the expenditures of working time, efforts, equipment, scarce paper and other valuables.

The elaboration of a system of indicators, which would measure ideological and educational work in a unit of its quantitative and qualititative characteristics, is one of the most complicated tasks facing modern Marxist-Leninist sociology, the main sociological institute of the country and the Soviet Sociological Association. Its solution must not be delayed, for scientifically sound indicators of the effectiveness of education are a necessary condition of a business-like, party approach to the implementation of the measures outlined by the CPSU Central Committee decrees: for the eradication of antisocial phenomena, the tightening up of law and order and the improvement of economic organizing activity, the economic progress of the country now depend more and more on the effectiveness of educational work.

The objective possibilities of mature socialism in literally all spheres of the vital activity of society: from the protection and multiplication of natural resources to the development of the human personality and the formation of the young generation, are inexhaustible, truly unlimited. But these possibilities cannot be transformed into reality by themselves without the conscientious labor activity of the people, without clear, well-founded scientific recommendations concerning what should be done and how it should be done in each specific situation, when one of a large number of alternatives must be chosen and the most effective means of implementing the correct decision must be sought.

The party is constantly reminding us of the enormous potential of scientific research in the building of socialism and communism. And the greater the research potential science accumulates, the greater the responsibility of scientists is for the maximum utilization of this potential at the level of not only the entire society, but also each region, city, enterprise and labor collective.

As is noted in the report of M. A. Suslov at the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers, "life and social practice do not stand still. They are making greater demands on Marxist-Leninist theory and are raising new tasks before it. And the social sciences should not lag behind life. The effectiveness of research can and should be considerably increased."10

FOOTNOTES

1. "On the Status and Directions of Philosophical Research," KOMMUNIST, No 15, 1979, p 70.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p 76.
4. Ibid., p 77.
5. Ibid.
6. M. A. Suslov, "A Matter of the Entire Party," KOMMUNIST, No 15, 1979, p 34.
7. A. P. Kirilenko, "The Banner of October Is the Banner of Peace and Creation," PRAVDA, 7 November 1979.
8. See "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1976, p 60.
9. A. N. Kosygin, "An Important Stage of the Improvement of the Planned Management of the Economy," KOMMUNIST, No 12, 1979, p 26.
10. M. A. Suslov, "A Matter of the Entire Party," p 29.

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URGENT PROBLEMS OF THE MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL PROCESSES AT AN INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1980 pp 13-20

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Nina Vladimirovna Andreyenkova, director of the Group of Social Problems of the Production Collective of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ The close interrelationship of the economic and social problems facing the national economy is indicated in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Improvement of Planning and the Intensification of the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on the Increase of Production Efficiency and Work Quality. The role and importance of sociological research in the matter of improving planning and management are increasing accordingly.

The experience of drafting the comprehensive plans of economic and social development of the collectives of enterprises showed the great effectiveness of taking into account the social tasks and social consequences of certain organizational and technical innovations or others. At present comprehensive five-year plans of technical, economic and social development are being compiled at practically every industrial enterprise. The social planning councils of enterprises and organizations and numerous sociological groups and laboratories are engaged in drafting them. Some experience has been gained, but there are also unsolved problems.

The lack of a scientifically sound forecast and the tradition of planning from what has been achieved, without the establishment of the priority of the tasks facing each collective, have an effect. Some reporting indicators, such as the general educational level of the workers or their occupational skills, are automatically increased annually by a certain percent with respect to the base year, others are reduced (the personnel turnover, the number of violations of labor discipline) without regard to the real requirements of production and the possibilities of the given collective.

The optimization of the development of the labor collective requires the consideration and interconnection of the entire set of problems facing the enterprise. Unfortunately, in practice only some aspects of this development are forecast and planned. In order to improve planning in every labor

collective it is necessary to ensure the organizational unity of the planning organs. At present one part of the comprehensive plan of economic and social development--the technical, industrial and financial plan--is drafted by the planning division, the other--the plan of social development--is drafted by the public social planning councils or on an economic contractual basis by sociological laboratories which have no direct relationship to the given enterprise. It is clear that with such a procedure both the consideration of the specific nature of the collective and the scientifically sound setting of the goals and tasks of its social development are out of the question.

In our opinion, the compilation of the comprehensive plan of economic and social development should be carried out in one subdivision--the planning division. The combining of the data submitted by all the subdivisions of the enterprise into a single comprehensive plan should be done by sociologically competent specialists--the planners.

The sociological service along with other subdivisions of the enterprise should ensure the elaboration of the main directions of the social policy of the management of the labor collective and the setting of the long-range goals, should develop indicators, which would evaluate the development of the collective as a whole and on the basis of which it would be possible to set specific tasks for the labor and wages division, the personnel division and other functional services of the enterprise, should monitor their fulfillment and evaluate the end socio-economic impact of each measure. For example, basing themselves on the evaluation of the demographic structure of the collective of the enterprise (as well as on the general indicators of the provision with personnel, the turnover and so on), they should introduce in the reporting of the personnel division indicators which would ensure the long-range development of the collective (the recruitment primarily of young people with the overall aging of the collective, the attraction of other family members of the workers of the enterprise under the conditions of the acuteness of the housing problem). Accordingly, each subdivision will ensure the solution of the overall task, relying on those indicators for which they give a direct account. For example, if primarily young people, who make greater demands on the content of labor, are being recruited, the technical services need to solve a certain group of problems which are connected with the reduction of the number of workplaces not meeting the increased demands; the labor and wages division needs to elaborate a system of stimulation with allowance made for the peculiarities of the given social group, the division for the improvement of the skills of personnel needs to ensure the occupational advancement of young people. It is necessary to enhance the role of the economic levers available at the enterprise.

Such are the practical steps on improving economic and social planning, which, in our opinion, it is necessary to undertake in order to fulfill the tasks set by the party and the government. The solution of theoretical and methods questions connected with social planning also requires much attention: the further development and substantiation of the indicators of the

plan of the economic and social development of the collective, their comparability when estimating the level of social development of the collective, the elaboration of standard methods of studying the most urgent social problems of the production collective--the style and methods of management, the sociopsychological climate of the collective, the turnover of personnel, the adaptation of young workers, the effectiveness of the system of material and moral stimulation and a number of others. Methods of this nature could considerably facilitate the work of plant sociologists, who are forced at present not only to solve problems of an applied nature, but also to deal with the approval of the set of tools, the evaluation of reliability and so forth, as well as to increase the qualitative level of the sociological research being conducted by them.

I would especially like to dwell on the sociological surveys of all the workers of the enterprise, which are conducted during the drafting of the plans of social development. The result of these surveys, which are aimed at the gathering of additional information, can be used when compiling the social certificate of the collective, which is an important basic document when selecting the main directions of its social development, setting the immediate and long-range goals and forecasting its development. However, it is impossible to regard such a survey as a study which is all-encompassing in its content and in practice unproblematic, in which data on everything are gathered: on the attitude toward labor, on daily life, on free time. The study of the most important problems for the given collective can also be carried out during the period of the drafting of the plan of social development and can be planned for the future.

It should be emphasized that the sociological survey is an important channel for the identification of the public opinion of the collective as a whole and of each worker individually. Not every person, owing to his psychological traits and objective circumstances, is able to speak at a meeting, to approach the management with a suggestion, but there has never been a case when any of the workers of the enterprises, at which we have happened to make a study, has refused to answer the questions of a questionnaire, if he sees their practical importance. Here the problem of the anonymity of the respondent arises only in some cases--during the sociometric study of the interrelations in the collective and the relations with an immediate supervisor. The activeness of the respondents is displayed in a large number of suggestions, with which the standard forms of the questionnaire surveys are usually supplemented, in the aspiration to become acquainted with the overall results and to see practical steps on the introduction of recommendations which have been prepared on the basis of the study.

The involvement of workers in the elaboration of the main directions of the long-range development of the collective and the discussion of the plan of economic and social development also are conducive to the increase of the creative and social activeness of the workers and to the development of democratic principles in production management. The results of a number of studies, which were conducted by the Group of Social Problems of the

Production Collective of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, attest that the extensive involvement of the members of the labor collective in management not only promotes the information of the workers and the increase of their creative activeness, but also has an influence on the creation of a beneficial moral and psychological climate in the collective, the increase of mutual demandingness and the increase of the prestige of management.[1]

The stability of the answers of the respondents, which was established during a panel study conducted three years later in the same collectives, attests both to the high level of reliability of the obtained information and to the existence of untapped potentials in the development of democratic principles in the management of the socialist labor collective.

The opinion of the workers about their participation in management was revealed in the surveys conducted at the Trekhgornaya manufaktura Combine and at the Pilot Plant of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Natural Gas. As the results of the study showed, about half of those surveyed believe that "the more actively the workers participate in management, the better the matter will proceed," more than 40 percent think that "our participation in management can improve the work of the enterprise," and only 15 percent of the respondents at the Trekhgornaya manufaktura Combine and 3.3 percent of the workers of the Pilot Plant of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Natural Gas are of the opinion that "management is a matter of the administration, and the workers should not interfere with it."

These answers attest that participation in management for the Soviet worker is in itself an important value, and this value is a socially recognized norm. Participation in management for the worker is not only a means of influencing the end result of his own work, a search for the optimum means and reserves for increasing labor productivity and fulfilling the production tasks facing the collective, but also a means of meeting his own needs for a plan of achieving creative, social activeness.

The management staff, especially at large enterprises, where it is not possible for every worker to make at a general meeting his own suggestions concerning innovations in organization, the wage system and so forth, needs timely and reliable information on the social processes taking place in the collectives, on the evaluation by the members of the production collective

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1. The studies were conducted in 1975-1979 at a number of enterprises of the textile industry (the Trekhgornaya manufaktura Combine, the Silk-Weaving Factory imeni 1-go Maya, the Bolshevskiy Spinning Factory, the Shakhtinsk Cotton Combine), at the Pilot Plant of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Natural Gas, the Kama Association for Heavy Truck Production (KamAZ), Construction Administration No 211 and Construction Administration No 212 of Mospromstroy Trust No 24. The total size of the sampled population was 4,322 people.

of the main management decisions, which are made on the level of the general board of directors or the board of directors of the plant.

Table 1

Distribution of Answers of KamAZ Workers to the Question: "What Steps, in Our Opinion, Is It Necessary to Take to Improve the Interrelations in the Collective?"

Suggestions on improving the interrelations in the collective	Respondents, percent*
Grant workers an opportunity to participate more fully in solving all questions in the collective	55.8
Implement measures more frequently on the simultaneous relaxation of workers and the members of their families	47.3
Recommend to managers to show greater attention and sensitivity in relations in subordinates	46.4
Increase the demands on undisciplined workers	19.7
Hold conferences (meetings) more often with the discussion of production and public affairs	18.8
Take steps to eliminate cases of suppression of criticism	15.0

*The total of the percentages is more than 100, since the respondents could make several suggestions in the order of their importance.

Table 2

Distribution of the Evaluations of the Solidarity of the Collective, Which Were Given by KamAZ Workers (1979), Depending on Their Influence on the Solution of General Problems of the Brigade (Section), Percent

"To what extent does your opinion influence the solution of general matters in the brigade?"	Evaluation of solidarity of collective			Hard to answer
	united, harmonious	Harmonious in general, but not always	More disunited, each for himself	
Influences considerably	37.3	50.8	10.2	1.7
Generally influences	21.8	65.3	10.9	2.0
Has little influence	8.4	64.0	23.4	4.2
Has no influence at all	9.4	46.3	38.1	6.2
Hard to answer	20.3	54.7	12.7	12.3

During the sociological studies conducted by us at KamAZ in 1976 and 1979, 90 percent of those surveyed expressed the wish in one form or another to participate in management. Moreover, they believe that their opportunities in this respect are being taken inadequate advantage of. Their suggestions on the improvement of the production technology and working conditions and

on the improvement of the wage system and labor organization attest to the great interest of the workers in increasing production efficiency, the productivity and quality of labor, as well as to the ability of the skilled workers to correctly assess the created situation and to propose a method of solving arising problems. Here the inability or reluctance of management to take advantage of the advice of the members of the labor collective has an extremely negative effect on the moral and psychological climate and is one of the reasons that workers leave the enterprise. One of the main wishes of the workers is for the administration and the public organizations of the association to better study and utilize the opinion of the rank and file workers when making management decisions on especially important questions.

At present there are quite a large number of forms of the involvement of workers in management: they include permanent production conferences, public bureaus of economic analysis, councils of foremen, organs of the People's Control and posts of the Komsomol Projector. It is necessary to improve the activity of these organs of self-management and to involve them in the solution of problems which have an influence on the development of the entire enterprise. In this respect the experience of the councils of production brigades, which has been gained at the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant imeni 50-letiya SSSR, is very valuable. The council is empowered by the general meeting of the brigade to act on behalf of the entire collective when solving problems of material and moral stimulation and evaluating the labor and social activeness of each worker. Having appeared for the first time at the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant in 1975, the councils of brigades have shown themselves to be an effective form of collective self-management of the primary production collective.

A survey conducted by the sociologists of the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant revealed a positive rating of the work of the councils of brigades both on the part of the foremen and on the part of the workers. In the opinion of the foremen, with the creation of the councils of brigades the technological and labor discipline improved, the standards of production and the production and social activeness of the brigade members rose and the demandingness on each other increased. In the opinion of the workers, this form of self-management broadened their participation in the solution of most problems.[2]

It is necessary to note that the attempts to improve the sociopsychological climate in the collective and to increase the effectiveness of its production activity by means of the simple combination of the formal and informal structure of the collective (the informal leader was appointed brigade leader) did not lead to success, since this organizational decision did not

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2. See V. S. Levin, "Features of the Formation of a Stable Production Collective Under the Conditions of Large-Scale Mass Flow Line Production," "Formirovaniye i razvitiye proizvodstvennogo kollektiva" /The Formation and Development of the Production Collective/, Moscow, 1978, pp 30-31.

stimulate the development of collective principles in management, and the new brigade leader often became just like the former one, who did not enjoy prestige in the collective, inasmuch as the personality traits, which enabled him to be the informal leader, did not always conform to the demands made on the official leader.

In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On the Improvement of Planning and the Intensification of the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on the Increase of Production Efficiency and Work Quality," it is suggested to ministries, departments and associations that they elaborate and implement measures on the extensive development of the brigade form of the organization and stimulation of labor. It is emphasized in it that during the 11th Five-Year Plan this form should become the main form. The collectives (councils) of production brigades have been granted the right within the limits of the set standards and assets to determine the amounts of the bonuses and wages, which are paid with allowance made for the real contribution of each member of the brigade to the overall results of the work; to recommend brigade members for the establishment of increments and supplementary payments for occupational skill and the combining of occupations; to recommend that the administration and the trade union organization change the category of a worker with allowance made for the quality of his work; to determine the winners of the socialist competition within the brigade and the amounts of their incentives; to nominate from among the brigade members candidates for material and moral incentives according to the results of the intraplant socialist competition.

The system of economic stimulation can both promote and hinder the unification of all the members of the collective for the achievement of the most important goals. In the brigades which have been organized according to the principle of work on a general order, the workers indicate the great solidarity of the collective and better production indicators. This form of labor organization is unquestionably progressive, but it is necessary to take into account the existing limitations of a technological (it is not possible to use it everywhere) and a social management nature (far from all problems are solved on the level of the primary production collectives).

When solving the problem of introducing the brigade contract it is necessary to take into account not only organizational and economic factors, but also sociopsychological factors: the interrelations between the members of the collective, the style of management, the relations between the workers and the brigade leader (the foreman of the section), which can be detected during sociological studies.

The form of work on a general order is a unique catalyst of intracollective processes, which is capable of intensifying favorable trends (uniting the collective, increasing the demandingness on each worker, the responsibility for the assigned matter, the social and labor activeness of the members of the collective) and at the same time is capable of aggravating the existing tension in the relations between the manager and subordinates and so forth.

Table 3

Influence on the Relations in the Collective of the Organization of Work on a General Order, Percent

Brigade	"How did relations in the brigade change after the introduction of the form of work on a general order?"				
	Relations became more friendly, cordial	Relations became more business-like, demanding	Relations did not change	Relations became tense, strained	Relations worsened, became conflicting
First	5.9	47.1	--	--	--
Second	18.2	27.3	--	--	--
Third	--	41.2	35.3	17.6	5.9
Fourth	--	30.0	10.0	--	--
Fifth	8.3	50.0	16.7	16.7	8.3
Average	6.2	41.5	13.8	7.7	3.1

Table 4

Influence of the General Order on Mutual Assistance and Responsibility for the Overall Results of Labor

Br[illegible]	"Does the form of work on a general order increase mutual assistance, does it cultivate responsibility for the overall result of the work of the brigade?		
	Yes	No	Hard to answer
First	76.5	5.9	17.6
Second	81.8	9.1	9.1
Third	70.6	29.4	--
Fourth	58.3	16.7	25.0
Fifth	80.0	10.0	10.0
Average	73.8	15.4	10.8

A study, which was conducted in 1979 in two construction administrations of Mospromstroy Trust No 24, showed that it is not always possible to expect an increase of the solidarity of the collective and an improvement of the sociopsychological climate immediately after the introduction of the new form of wages. In the brigades, in which mutual demandingness in the case of individual pay is not high enough, in which there are considerable omissions in the organization of labor, when introducing the brigade contract the subjective evaluation of the solidarity of the collective at first even decreases and favorable results are achieved only after the coordination of the mutual demands and expectations.

At the same time both the brigade leaders and the workers note a substantial positive influence of the brigade contract on the increase of mutual

assistance and responsibility and on the improvement of the results of the work of the collective.

The obtained data attest that the members of the collective as a whole give a high rating to both the economic and the educational impact of the organization of work on a general order.

Table 3

Evaluation of the Effectiveness of the Organization of Work on a General Order, Percent*

Brigade	Opinion concerning the organization of work on a general order					
	Interests workers in increasing labor productivity, cultivates a sense of responsibility	Only imposes additional duties	Beneficial not for all workers of the brigade	Designed only for increasing productivity, but makes relations in the collective more tense	Promotes an increase of mutual responsibility, but the material benefit from it for the worker is small	Makes it possible to earn, but its educational role is small
First	76.5	--	5.9	--	11.8	5.9
Second	27.3	--	18.2	--	9.1	9.1
Third	41.2	11.8	41.2	29.4	17.6	11.8
Fourth	33.3	16.7	16.7	16.7	8.3	--
Fifth	30.0	10.0	50.0	--	--	--
Average	46.2	7.7	26.2	10.8	10.8	6.2

*The total of the percentages is more than 100, since the respondents could give several answers in the order of their importance.

A search for diverse flexible forms of material and moral stimulation and their proper combination is necessary, since wages and the amount of the bonus are of not only financial importance, but also importance with respect to prestige, which is connected with the evaluation of the labor contribution of the member of the collective. The fair distribution of wages and bonuses has an important educational influence. On this level material stimulation with allowance made for the coefficient of labor participation, which makes it possible to redistribute a portion of the brigadewide reward in conformity with the labor contribution of each member of the primary production collective, is effective. The coefficient of labor participation, which is determined by the council of the brigade, in addition to the

evaluation of the real contribution of each member to the overall result of the work is of significant moral importance, being a stimulus of the development of the labor activeness of the workers.

Thus, the consistent realization of the principle of common interest in the end results of the activity of the collective makes it possible to achieve the greatest economic impact, cultivates among the workers the sense of being the master of production and has an influence on the solidarity and stability of the labor collective.

The study of the causes of the turnover of personnel and the elaboration of measures on the stabilization of the collective are the main tasks of the sociologists and personnel services of enterprises. However, studies of this type at present, in our opinion, are ineffective, since the causes of the turnover are examined not at the moment of their origination, but at the final stage, when notice was already given, while the study of the causes which prompted the worker to give notice should begin much earlier, with the first days of his labor activity at the given enterprise.

The general evaluation of the satisfaction of the worker with the content and conditions of work, wages, interrelations in the collective and relations with the immediate supervisor makes it possible to identify and prevent the potential turnover. Such work is being performed by the sociologists of the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant, where owning to the introduction of a system of occupational promotion the questions of stabilizing the collective under the conditions of mass flow line production are being solved in principle; by the sociologists of KamAZ, who are developing a system of the adaptation of personnel; by the sociologists of the Kirov Plant, where recommendations on the intraplant movement of personnel, which averts the departure of a worker from the enterprise, are being introduced. The experience of the comprehensive approach to the solution of the personnel problem in the city of Tol'yatti also merits attention. It is obvious that under the conditions of a multi-industry city it is impossible to solve the problem of providing a regular labor force by the forces of the enterprise alone. Only a system of measures on the scale of an industrial region can ensure the efficient use of manpower resources.

Two circumstances are impeding the extensive use of the results of sociological studies in management practice: the shortage of skilled staffs of sociologists and the low level of sociological knowledge of management workers. Often the positions of engineer-sociologists are held by casual people, who do not have the necessary occupational knowledge and experience, while the inadequate sociological training of managers does not enable them to direct the attention of sociologists to the study of cardinal problems and to use in management practice the results of the studies which have been conducted. Not only plant sociologists, but also scientists, who are conducting research at industrial enterprises of the country, are faced with these difficulties. It is possible to overcome them only by introducing systematic sociological training at higher educational institutions and increasing the level of sociological knowledge of management personnel.

The decrees of the party and the government are directing the attention of both experienced workers and scientists toward the thorough study of the complex mechanism of management and the use of the results of scientific research in everyday organizational and management activity. When the results of sociological research are used not only as illustrative material, but also as a source of information for the making of important management decisions, as the starting point for the elaboration of the long-range directions of the development of the collective, the activity of sociologists can be recognized as effective and productive.

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THE COUNTERPLAN IN THE SYSTEM OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANNING, pp 21-27

[By Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Mikhail Illarionovich Voyeykov, senior research associate of the Sector of the Laws of the Development of Socialist Labor Into Communist Labor of the Institute of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

PROBLEMS OF THE USE OF SOCIOLOGICAL INFORMATION IN PARTY WORK

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1980 pp 28-33

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Vladislav Vasil'yevich Shinkarenko, consultant of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS/

/Text/ In recent years the number of concrete sociological studies, which have been used in the practice of party work, has increased appreciably, their methodological and methods level has risen. The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, which indicated the need to redouble the attention to the study of public opinion, the CPSU decrees "On Measures to Further Develop the Social Sciences and to Enhance Their Role in the Building of Communism" and "On the Status of and Measures to Improve Party Political Information,"[1] as well as other party documents to a considerable extent promoted this.

In the CPSU Central Committee decree, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," which was adopted in April 1979, and in the materials of the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers the results of the political educational activity are summarized and the new prospects of the increase of the effectiveness of using sociological research in party work are outlined. In a report at the conference M. A. Suslov emphasized that "in its theoretical activity the party constantly relies on the research of Soviet social scientists."[2] In this connection the most important task of sociologists is "the thorough consideration of new social experience, the careful analysis of the vital needs of the material and spiritual progress of society."[3] The ideological, theoretical and practical work of party organizations should be organized precisely on the basis of this information.

At present sociological research is being conducted everywhere: in Moscow and Leningrad, in the Ukraine and Belorussia, in the Urals and the Caucasus, in Central Asia and the Baltic republics, at the most diverse levels of party leadership--within republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon primary party organizations. Its themes embrace many urgent problems of the guiding role of the CPSU, ideological and educational work, the building of the party and others.

With the increase of the number of such studies, the improvement of their methodology and methods and the accumulation of the information thus obtained its use by party organizations for the purposes of the more successful solution of important political, economic and sociocultural problems, as well as for the theoretical generalization of the experience of building communism in our country is inevitably intensified.

At the same time this information for the present is still not being fully utilized. At times this happens owing to the fact that "the fear of openly raising for discussion urgent questions of our social life, the tendency to smooth over, to avoid unsolved problems and pressing issues, to gloss over the shortcomings and difficulties, which exist in real life,"[4] are characteristic of some executives. The nonconformity of the level of some sociological studies to the requirements of practice owing to the inadequate skill of individual, publicly training sociologists, as well as the discreteness, incompleteness and incomparability of sociological information also have an effect. The latter phenomenon is well known to practical workers, it complicates the search for new data, which also has an adverse effect on their use.

Of course, it would be incorrect to present the matter as if all this information or a great portion of it is fragmentary and unsystematic. This cannot be so, because sociological studies are conducted according to a plan, under the direction of party organizations and, as a rule, on the most urgent questions of the building of communism.

However, the problem of the comparability of the results obtained in even one, and especially different studies, which have been conducted according to different methods in different party organizations, does exist. Meanwhile the party workers have an urgent need for the obtained materials to be comparable, and not just once, but repeatedly, as new data are gathered.

Great difficulties result from the imperfection of the forms in which the user receives the information. It is basically concentrated in odd monographs, collections, journals, pamphlets, dissertations, abstracts, reports and so on. Moreover, in printed publications the data of a concrete study are represented, as a rule, not fully, but only by that part of them, which interests the author, while they are generalized on the basis of the tasks which faced him.

The incompleteness of the information is not something incidental, which depends only on the subjective actions of individuals who for certain reasons or others do not want or are not able to process the information properly. This is an inevitable process at the stage of the primary gathering of scientific data in any field of science. During the age of the scientific and technical revolution it is being intensified, moreover, by the so-called information explosion, as a result of which the utilization ratio of information is decreasing with the simultaneous increase of the information flows.

The incompleteness of the obtained data is also governed by a number of specific causes of a scientific nature, which are connected with the difficulties of elaborating the programs, the set of tools, the methodology and methods of studies, with shortcomings in their planning and coordination, with certain difficulties with the publication of the results and others.

The solution of this problem should take into account all the enumerated factors. Here one of the most important conditions of th elimination of the incompleteness of the information is, in our opinion, its systematization and classification, which have been carried out on a single basis using computers. When implementing this suggestion serious problems of both a theoretical and methodological nature and a practical (technical) nature arise. However, the creation of such a system would make it possible: to order the already accumulated empirical information, thereby having ensured its preservation and further use; to create on the basis of modern electronic equipment a unified system of the storage and systematic, ordered accumulation of data; to improve the process of disseminating information among party workers; to create the basis for the elaboration of uniform standard methods of sociological studies, as well as their optimum planning and coordination.

One of the key problems of the systematization of data is the development of a set of concepts, which would serve as the basis of classification. These concepts should reflect and record the common traits among qualitatively different objects and the most diverse phenomena of social life. In our opinion, it is necessary to create such a system for the sociological research used in party work on the basis of the categories of the building of the party. However, as has been noted during the discussion of questions of the building of the party in the pages of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, in the use and interpretation here of many basic concepts "there is great inconsistency."[5]

The most important term, which in this connection needs a more exact definition as applied to sociological research, is the concept of information.[6] Such a requirement is also dictated by the fact that the information system, which has been created on the basis of the data of the sociological research, which are used in party work, should function as a part of another, broader information system, for which the concept of information will also be more general.

Unfortunately, neither the theory nor the practice of concrete sociological research in party work has yet developed a definition which, on the one hand, is adequately complete and includes all the varieties of information being obtained and, on the other, indicates the connection of this information system with the more general system. At present, as a rule, either too general concepts ("information," "social information," "sociological information") or, on the contrary, too narrow concepts, which reflect one individual attribute of the object or another ("primary," "secondary," "processed information," "statistical data" and so forth), are being used.

The drawback of the mentioned general concepts is obvious. The term "sociological information" is nearly always used in the meaning "social information," and this latter term, as is known, signifies the knowledge, reports and data about the social form of the movement of matter and about all its other forms to the extent to which they are used by society and are drawn into the orbit of public life.[7] This concept is so general that, except for its operational meaning, it loses all other practical meaning.

As to special concepts, they indicate certain different properties of the information or others, a knowledge of which is unquestionably necessary when developing the appropriate information system, but not one of them by virtue of the restriction of its content can be taken as the basis of this system. Moreover, the indicated special concepts establish, as a rule, only the form of the information, its source, the method of acquisition and so forth and do not reveal its contents.

In the situation which has formed it seems promising to regard the information, which was obtained as a result of concrete sociological research in party work, first of all as political information.

Political information[8] occupies a central place in the system of social information. In its content three levels are usually distinguished: data about facts, their explanation, generalization (or evaluation, motivation). There is also a more detailed classification, which makes it possible to distinguish the following levels: 1) reports on specific facts and events of political life; 2) the explanation of facts from party and class positions; 3) the generalization of data, the distinction of typical phenomena in one specific area or another of political life; 4) the analysis of the laws and stable trends in the political sphere; 5) a systematized, general view of the entire sphere of political life.[9]

Political information, of which concrete sociological research is one of the sources, embraces a wide range of questions of domestic and international life. It has a pronounced class, party orientation. Political information as such, that is, data which reflect phenomena of the political life of society, holds a central place in it. This sphere embraces first of all political relations--the relations between classes, nations and states; the political organization of society, as well as the activity of political parties, state and public organizations, political ideology.[10]

The diverse political, organizing and ideological work of the CPSU is reflected in the content of party information. Party information is a kind of nucleus of the political information circulating in our society. Structurally it is possible to distinguish in it the main directions of party work and further the themes of each of the directions, consolidated and detailed indicators of this work, which are then formalized for computer processing.

Methodologically the elaboration of such a question as the possibility of differentiating, of breaking down the main concepts of political information

into elementary information units and of translating them into computer language is of great interest. Being presented in figures, these data should as before retain their political content, but of a different level of generalization.

Summarizing what has been said, it is necessary to emphasize that political information: a) encompasses a quite wide range of questions, in order to reflect party work in all its diversity; b) has a content, which it is possible to use at all levels of sociological knowledge; c) under certain conditions permits formalization and coding for further computer processing.

Thus, in our opinion, it can be used as the basis in the computer-assisted systematization of information obtained as a result of sociological research which is intended for use in party work. The optimum functioning of such a unified information system will be ensured, if the analysis of each new data file is carried out: a) in conformity with the goals of the concrete sociological study, of which the new information is the result; b) with allowance made for the goals of other studies, which have already been conducted or are being planned after the acquisition of the new information; c) with an orientation toward the practical needs of party work. The solution of these problems is possible, in our opinion, on the condition that the systematized political information in its primary, and not its generalized form is inserted in the data bank.

The greatest difficulty here consists not in translating the results of a concrete sociological study into computer language, but in ensuring the storage of the data of a large number of sociological studies, which were performed at different times, in different party organizations and according to different programs and methods. Especially as such storage is not an end in itself. It makes sense only when it is possible to efficiently retrieve the information, and in the form in which it is required for the solution of some specific problem or another during party work. At the same time it is very likely that such an information system will be a part of a broader system of data on questions of party work, which have been obtained as a result of other studies, as well as through party and state channels, from the press, letters of workers and so on. Therefore, it is necessary for the sociological information to be able to be compared efficiently with the information stored in other parts of the general information system.

The present level of development of electronic equipment and the potentials of programming make it possible in practice to accomplish the development of such an information system. However, for computer processing the information should be formally described beforehand, that is, presented in the forms of concepts, which are strictly specified according to content and volume and are interrelated logically, and then in the form of mathematical logic symbols.

The formalization of concepts is an important condition of the increase of the effectiveness of the use of sociological data. Nevertheless in practice some of the studies are attributed to this operation with some doubt,

seeing in it attempts to destroy the content of the information. Such views are untenable, especially when it is a matter of concrete sociological studies. The scientists working on this problem justly note that the basis of the formalized analysis of information is its content analysis from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, while the logic of the information retrieval system reflects the objective logic of the social process.[11]

Of course, far from all the data used in party work can be formalized. Among the latter, in particular, is a significant portion of the verbal information, which is obtained at meetings, conferences, in the process of interpersonal contact and so on. However, on no account does this deny the possibility of and need for the use of computers in party work. Moreover, in the practice of party organizations experience has been gained in the conducting of concrete sociological studies on the basis of automated control systems, which makes it possible to increase the value and to raise the efficiency of use of the obtained results.[12]

Of course, the proposed approach does not automatically eliminate all the difficulties. The formalization of political information, while being possible in principle (and then to certain limits), in practice will require considerable efforts. The same thing can also be said about the development of standard methods for conducting the sociological studies which are used in party work. They should conform not only to the tasks of these studies, but also to the conditions of the functioning of the information system. Many other problems of both a theoretical and a practical order also arise.

The overcoming of the incompleteness of the information, its successful systematization and the development of the appropriate information system using computers can and should improve its use in the practice of party work. The solution of this problem will be a serious step in the direction of the further streamlining and systematization of the most important flows of party, and then political information. The latter is especially urgent, since, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the 24th CPSU Congress, "a statewide automated data gathering and processing system has to be developed."[13]

Special information retrieval systems and unified information centers using computers are already being set up in a number of large party organizations of the country. Here, along with other information, the information obtained as a result of sociological research is being used.[14] This experience merits, in our opinion, the closest attention. For the purposes of generalizing it, it would be desirable to hold an applied science conference with the participation of party workers, sociologists, researchers in the field of the building of the party, cybernetics specialists and so on. It would also be advisable to organize the comprehensive study of this problem by the forces of various scientific research institutes of both the humanities and technology. All this in the end would be conducive to the successful fulfillment of the tasks set by the 25th CPSU Congress, the increase of the efficiency of the work of party organizations, and the realization of the principles set forth in the CPSU Central Committee decree, "On the

Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," in which there are set as the main goal for sociological research "the thorough analysis of the spiritual life of society and the elaboration of scientifically sound recommendations on the further improvement of political educational activity."15

FOOTNOTES

1. See "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1976, p 73; "Ob ideologicheskoy rabote KPSS. Sbornik dokumentov" /On CPSU Ideological Work. A Collection of Documents/, Moscow, 1977, pp 297-304, 457-470.

2. M. A. Suslov, "A Matter of the Entire Party. Report at the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers," PRAVDA, 17 October 1979.

3. Ibid.

4. "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy rabote. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS" /On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work. CPSU Central Committee Decree/, Moscow, 1979, p 5.

5. "On the Results of the Discussion of Questions of Building the Party," VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 3, 1972, p 44.

6. We agree that the concept of information "has not yet been strictly defined by anyone and by virtue of this is not generally recognized, and therefore any definition for the present will appear only as a hypothesis" (see A. D. Ursul, "Problema informatsii v sovremennoy nauke. Filosofskiye ocherki" /The Problem of Information in Modern Science. Philosophical Essays/, Moscow, 1975, p 5).

7. See V. G. Afanas'yev, "Sotsial'naya informatsiya i upravleniye obshchestvom" /Social Information and the Management of Society/, Moscow, 1975, p 39.

8. Researchers distinguish political information in the narrow and broad senses of the word. Reports on events and phenomena not only in the sphere of politics, but also in economics, culture and so on, that is, reports which are of political importance, belong to the latter (see VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 5, 1977, pp 76-77).

9. For more detail is V. G. Afanas'yev, Op. cit., p 360.

10. Ibid., pp 354-357.

11. See "Voprosy teorii i metodov ideologicheskoy raboty" /Problems of the Theory and Methods of Ideological Work/, issue 2, Moscow, 1973, pp 80-81.

12. See V. P. Oshko, F. D. Kozhurin, E. K. Golovanov, "The Improvement of the Organization of Sociological Research Using Automated Control Systems," "Nauchnoye upravleniye obshchestvom" /The Scientific Management of Society/, issue 12, Moscow, 1978.

13. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rechi i stat'i" /By the Leninist Course. Speeches and Articles/, Vol 3, Moscow, 1973, p 269.

14. See V. V. Grishin, "O rabote Moskovskoy gorodskoy partiynoy organizatsii po osushchestvleniyu kompleksnogo podkhoda k vospitaniyu trudyashchikhsya v svete resheniy XXV s"yezda KPSS" /On the Work of the Moscow City Party Organization on Implementing the Comprehensive Approach to the Education of Workers in Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1977, pp 45-47; V. V. Shcherbitskiy, "Ovladevat' leninskim stilem raboty" /Master the Leninist Style of Work/, Kiev, 1978, pp 66-68; "Partiynoye rukovodstvo--na uroven' sovremennykh trebovaniy. Iz opyta Leningradskoy partiynoy organizatsii" /Party Leadership to the Level of Present Requirements. From the Experience of the Leningrad Party Organization/, Leningrad, 1978, pp 316-317, 336-341, and others.

15. "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy raboty," p 13.

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THE PLACE OF VALUE ORIENTATIONS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A PERSONALITY TYPOLOGY, pp 34-43

[By Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Valentina Gennad'yevna Alekseyeva, senior research associate of the Sector of Philosophical Problems of the Personality in Contemporary Society of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

ON THE QUESTION OF THE STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF THE SOCIALIST TYPE OF PERSONALITY, pp 44-51

[By Lyudmila Aleskandrovna Kiseleva, graduate student of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

PROBLEMS OF THE FORMATION OF REASONABLE NEEDS FOR MATERIAL WEALTH (THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECT)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1980 pp 52-59

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Lyudmila Nikolayevna Zhilina, senior research associate of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee, and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Mikhaylovich Sokolov, docent of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee/

/Text/ Speaking at the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers in October 1979, Politburo Member and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. A. Suslov mentioned among the pressing and urgent problems facing the social sciences the formation of reasonable needs. "Our party cadres and practical workers of the sphere of education," he stressed, "expect from scientists well thought-out recommendations on ways to solve this important social problem."[1]

The sociological aspect of the study of questions of the formation of needs presumes the establishment of the main methodological principles of the analysis of this process not only on the theoretical level, but also on the level of specific needs and the real forms of their satisfaction.

First of all let us specify the methodological starting point--the understanding of the essence of material needs and the complex nature of their functioning in human society. The point is not that it is difficult to distinguish material needs among the other needs of man. The needs for housing, for the continuation of the species and for books are material needs. However, in each specific case their content also has its own spiritual "fullness." By material needs there are understood, in essence, the needs for material wealth, which is called upon to guarantee economically the existence of the individual; in society they do not function by themselves, but as needs which serve other needs, particularly spiritual needs.

The historically established forms of spiritual culture are fixed in the things which are included in the context of social life. Things, the objects of daily life are the vehicles of the world of ideas, which "every

individual is forced from childhood to take into consideration much more circumspectly than the directly perceptible appearance of 'things' or situations or the organic attractions, desires or needs of his own isolated body."[2]

The materially fixed spiritual culture of the human race appears before the individual as the thinking of preceding and current generations, which has been embodied (made objective) in objects perceived by the senses.

Therefore, when it is a matter of the reasonability of material needs, it is necessary to clearly realize that the internal structure of this phenomenon is not determined by the narrow material considerations of the individual, it reflects the essence of his spiritual life, his entire social and cultural development. Owing precisely to this material needs yield to regulation and control on the part of individual and public conscience.

This conclusion is of particular importance for concrete social research. The division of needs into material and spiritual needs completely meets the needs of general philosophical analysis, in the real process of consumption the conditionality of such a division should be taken into account and the interrelationship and interconversion of the material and the spiritual should be considered.

The reasonability of needs, including material needs, cannot be established by any quantitative means. A satisfactory approach to the solution of this problem can be found only by seeking qualitative criteria.

Reasonability, to all appearances, should include quite strict notions about "the necessary" and the "the extra necessary." The surveys conducted by the authors showed that the respondents apply the concept "necessity" to those needs, without the realization of which a person cannot function as an equal member of society. Therefore, the necessary needs include not only the "material minimum," which is calculated today by economists as the general standards of nutrition, the consumption of clothing, the standards of floor space, but a quite significant set of consumer benefits, without which a person cannot exist as a sociobiological organism. The needs connected with contact, self-expression, the continuation of the species, mental development and so on also belong here.

According to K. Marx, there should be attributed to the necessary "the customarily necessary object of consumption,"[3] which is recognized as such by the majority, and it is necessary to take into account that "... in a certain country, during a certain period... the group of these necessary vital means is a known value."[4]

In 1950 about 1,500 household refrigerators and 300 washing machines were produced in the USSR. At that time there was no mass demand for these things, their acquisition was considered a luxury, and not a necessity. With the expansion of the production of refrigerators and washing machines the demand for them also increased. At present our market is completely

saturated with these goods and, as sociological studies show, they have disappeared from the sphere of things which adjust the social behavior of the individual.

In the process of social development the public appraisal of the utility of one thing or another and, consequently, the level of the demand for it also change. Thus, in a 1968 study[5] the consumer aims of school children and their parents toward a number of items, including a tape recorder, were compared. Among upper graders 41.5 percent included it among the important, necessary things; among parents there were only 1 percent who did. In 1978 30 percent of the adults surveyed now mentioned the tape recorder among the items which they want to buy first of all.[6] They explained this aspiration by the fact that this item is necessary for the increase of the effectiveness of instruction and the overall development of family members. Even from this one example it is evident how sociocultural changes in society influence material requirements and personality orientation.

Thus, "the necessary" is not only an economic, but also a social and cultural standard, which regulates material needs. It is possible to acquire knowledge and information about the main quantitative and qualitative parameters of this standard only by constantly studying the system of evaluations, which has really and actually formed in the consciousness of the people and operates in the practice of their consumer behavior.

The mass consumer gets an idea of the socially significant standard of "the necessary," when information about the optimum models of personal consumption is brought to his attention. It is necessary to have an idea about the necessary in order not to replace it with the incidental, the unnecessary, and to construct a system of consumption in a considered and efficient manner. However, the attitude toward the necessary should not exceed the reasonable and be transformed into petty thrift, avarice and hoarding; although at the same time it should not have anything in common with extravagance.

The analysis of public opinion on material (in this case monetary) accumulation is of interest. According to the self-appraisals of those surveyed, in 1968 the tendency to reject hoarding in principle was clearly traced; moreover, hoarding was least of all characteristic of the group of respondents who at the same time had a high level of material security and education (only 11.7 percent of them responded that they have the desire and ability to save money).[7]

A 1976 study, which was conducted in Latvia, showed that among the rural population a considerable rate of growth of monetary savings was occurring and it was outstripping the rate of increase of monetary income.[8] At present this process is intensifying. Obviously, there is a need to study carefully the causes of this phenomenon.

In the studies of 1968 the majority of those surveyed believed that, in principle, it is necessary to save up money for the purchase of expensive

items, the arrangement of vacation, tourist trips and so on, but not to do this by means of reducing necessary expenses to the detriment of the development of the individual. It is appropriate to recall the words of K. Marx: "The less you eat and drink, the fewer the books you buy, the less often you go to the theater,.. to cafes, the less you think, love, theorize, sing, draw, fence and so on, the more you /save/ /in italics/, the /larger/ /in italics/ your treasure, which is not eaten away by either moth or worm--your /capital/ /in italics/--becomes.... And you should save not only for your immediate sensual needs, for food and so on, but also for participation in general interests, for compassion, trust and so on; in all this you should display the greatest thrift...."[9] Such value orientations in our society have basically been overcome. People are striving more and more to combine the satisfaction of material needs with full-fledged social development.

The reasonability of the needs of the individual under socialism is governed by the following factors:

the correlation of one's needs with the economic and social potentials of society;

the correlation of one's needs with one's personal labor contribution, with one's abilities, with the position that the individual holds in society;

the direction of needs toward the development of the spiritual and physical powers of a person.

The conformity of material needs to the requirements and values of the socialist way of life, to moral and cultural standards functions as the most important criterion of their reasonability.

The development of needs under socialism presumes first of all:

the elevation of needs, the deliberate broadening of the spiritual basis in the formation of needs, the development of a hierarchy of needs, which conforms to the general value principles of socialism;

the harmony of needs, the formation not of separate, even lofty needs, but of their system;

the formation of rationality in the satisfaction of needs, the conscious self-restraint of the individual in conformity with the specific conditions of life.

The control of the process of the formation and development of needs includes the monitoring of the conformity of the needs to both the specific contribution of the individual to social production and the socialist moral principles of consumption: the legal prosecution of the criminally punishable antisocial means of satisfying personal needs, the condemnation by public opinion of immoral ways of satisfying them.

Various sociological studies show that under socialism the interaction of the system of values and the system of cultural needs of the individual is displayed quite intrinsically and effectively. This is confirmed by the fact that among the values of life those surveyed put in first place a job which satisfies their needs for creativity and self-expression; the increase of the level of education holds first and second place, while material security holds third and fourth place.[10] Data close to this were also obtained in our 1968 study, when 46 percent of all those surveyed and 53 percent of all engineering and technical personnel responded that for them first of all an interesting job, a high level of education, prestige, the respect of people and only after this material prosperity are signs of success in life.

A 1978 study made it possible to ascertain that the ability to rationally correlate one's own requirements with the real possibilities is characteristic of the majority of respondents. Among the majority of those surveyed the aspiration for things which are really attainable and determine the average standard of living is expressed intensively, the aspiration for things which have not become the social standard (are rare or expensive), is shown with restraint (see the table).

Availability of Durable Goods and the Aim at Acquiring Them, Percent of Those Questioned

Name of items	Responses of those surveyed		
	I have	I do not have and do not intend to acquire	I would like to acquire, but do not have the means
Refrigerator	82.4	6.2	11.4
Washing machine	75.1	11.5	13.4
Black and white television	82.5	9.8	7.7
Sewing machine	67.3	16.9	15.8
Set of furniture	27.9	24.7	47.4
Subscription book editions	22.8	22.4	54.8
Radio-phonograph, tape recorder	59.0	15.8	25.2
Rugs	39.9	11.1	49.0
Passenger car	10.7	41.6	47.7
Gold adornments	34.2	33.9	31.9
Color television	9.0	40.6	50.4
Leather jacket	7.0	52.8	40.2

The aspiration to build a home library is unquestionably a positive process. A study of the reading interests of young people, which was conducted by staff members of the scientific center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee, showed that the reading rate is connected with the number of books in one's personal library: of those having more than 100 books at home, 91.6 percent regularly read fiction, while among those who have no more than 10 books at their personal disposal, 51.8 percent were regular readers.

To the question: "On what would you spend money, if you received it in addition to your basic wage?" nearly 78 percent of the young people answered that they would buy a musical instrument, radio equipment, would go on a tour and so on; moreover, 15 percent did not have a quite definite opinion, the remaining 7 percent were oriented toward status items.

Consequently, on the whole the criterion of conformity to social requirements and values "works" effectively in reality. At the same time certain groups of people in some instances or others are not guided by them. Overstated needs, just like understated, undeveloped needs, can be assigned to unreasonable needs from the point of view of the social requirement of society and the optimum possibilities of the present stage of its development.

In our opinion, it makes sense to distinguish another significant criterion of the reasonability of material needs, which is connected with the principle of the naturalness of consumer behavior. To some extent this criterion is in conflict with the principle of conformity to the social requirements of society. Embodied in things and other material objects, in the forms of culture and in moral forms, collective thought dictates to the individual one style or another of consumer behavior and requires submission to the established standards. Without having an intrinsic culture, the individual is not able to find his orientation in this complex system of requirements, to oppose routine, the lack of demandingness and so on. In such a case the submission to social requirements can be transformed into conformism, imitation, lack of initiative. Only the dialectical unity of the principles of "conformity" and "naturalness" leads to the reasonable orientation of the individual in the sphere of consumption.

Being oriented toward public, collective or group opinion, the individual should retain the aptitude for independent decisions, the choice of the individual and independent style of consumption, which conforms to the intrinsic individual inclinations. Conspicuous consumption, the demonstration of one's consumer potentials for the purpose of arousing the envy of others, deliberately status consumption act as the antipodes of naturalness and, consequently, reasonability in material needs. In socialist society such forms of status-seeking behavior as the wearing of luxurious fanciful clothing, the abundance of gold adornments, splendid weddings in the merchant class tradition and so forth cannot be recognized as reasonable.

The generalization of the noted indications of unreasonability in consumption leads to the broader concepts "consumer psychology" and "consumer ideology."

By a consumer psychology there are usually meant "materialism," the worship of things, on the whole exaggerated attention to the consumer aspects of life. A consumer psychology often arises on the basis of low levels of culture and material prosperity. In this case a person with an inadequately developed level of culture replaces genuine achievements and values with their secondary attributes, for example, he strives for an abundance of furniture, expensive dishes, "prestigious" clothing.

Regular educational and cultural work, to all appearances, can countervail the development of a consumer psychology, since its components are not necessarily connected with the basic aims of the individual, with his moral fiber and attitude toward labor. But then it is more difficult to countervail a consumer ideology. Its essence consists in the main moral choice of the individual: to work himself or to live at the expense of the labor of others. To a great extent the action of the elemental mechanisms of redistribution, which create false images of success, is conducive to the development of a consumer ideology.

A consumer ideology transforms the value orientations of the individual and gives rise to principles which are foreign to socialism. Some differentiation of the phenomena of a consumer psychology and a consumer ideology is necessary. Whereas a consumer psychology can be gradually overcome by means of educational and cultural work, an uncompromising struggle should be waged against a consumer ideology, which is a system of views which do not conform to the standards of the socialist way of life.

A consumer psychology is not compatible with the very spirit of socialist social relations. And the cases of a consumer "object" orientation are not the rule, but the exception. But the lack of a fundamental link between socialism and a consumer psychology, which also determines the corresponding line of behavior of the individual, does not mean that it is overcome automatically.

Among the objective factors of the emergence of an "object" orientation are: residual influences of the psychology of the already overcome period of underconsumption, the escape of the sphere of personal consumption from the state of being static and immobile, the arrival of a period of intensive growth and the revival of needs.

The increasing standard of living, the increase of consumer demand and the great opportunities to meet it, which are being granted by the scientific and technical revolution under the conditions of mature socialism, can promote the occurrence of phenomena which do not correspond to the spirit of communist morals. The desire to surround oneself with "prestigious" things, the singling out of consumption among other values of life--especially if the aspiration to acquire is not backed by an orientation toward one's own productive labor--are fraught with the possibility of the development of an asocial model of the behavior of the individual.

At the same time it is socialist society which regulates the needs for material wealth effectively enough. When setting the prices for certain goods or others, the Soviet state proceeds from their social significance. Therefore, meat, milk, bread, many varieties of fish, as well as children's clothing and shoes, toys, medicines and cotton fabrics are sold in our country at less than the production cost and at constant prices. Enormous state grants are allocated for the construction and maintenance of housing and cultural institutions, the development of sports and so on. Moreover, and this is most important in the process of developing the proper

orientation in the sphere of consumption, the satisfaction not of any needs of a person, but of those which are conducive to the harmonious development of the individual, becomes the main goal of production only under socialism. The development of the socialist economy directly affects the formation of the structure of needs.

The development of the sphere of personal consumption is governed not only by production, but also by the principles of distribution, in which the culture, the ideals of society, the ideas about the customary forms of consumption and new features of the way of life are reflected. In other words, social and cultural factors influence the formation of the models of personal consumption even to a greater degree than directly economic factors.

In its attitude toward the sphere of consumption and toward the world of things, in its consumer orientations, requirements and expectations the public conscience may outstrip the level of development of production or, on the contrary, may demonstrate the force of the habits which formed at preceding stages of historical development.

The specific direction of behavior is governed not only by the aim of a person toward the acquisition of certain things or others, but first of all by his notions about the proper means of satistfying needs, about the admissibility or inadmissibility of the relations with society and with other people, which arise here. The formation of such notions and of the value orientations and modes of behavior, which correspond to them, takes place under the influence of factors which go beyond the sphere of consumption. High moral qualities are formed in the process of the active participation of a person in socially useful activity, the mastering of communist ideology and culture, under the influence of labor collectives, the family, friends and so on. Only in unity with all these factors, which act synchronously, does the increase of the level of material consumption have a positive influence of the development of the individual.

At the 25th CPSU Congress the need was especially emphasized "...for the increase of material means to be constantly accompanied by an increase of the ideological, moral and cultural level of the people. Otherwise we may get recurrences of the narrow-minded, petty bourgeois psychology."[11] The formation in the individual of a proper set of means of satisfying needs (a direction of behavior) is one of the most important tasks. This direction should comply with the lofty principles of communist morality. Practice and special studies show that there are still unsolved problems in this area. Thus, 67 percent of the surveyed upper graders when realizing their increased needs rely only on their parents; more than 50 percent of the parents expressed the desire to acquire for their children scarce, prestigious things to the detriment of the satisfaction of their own personal needs.

The inability or reluctance of adolescents to correlate their requirements with the real possibilities of the family and ill breeding in consumption lead to social infantilism, passivity in labor and social activity and a lack of personal responsibility.

The family, the school, the collective, cultural institutions, the media and means of propaganda and belles lettres function as the most important institutions of the cultivation of a reasonable orientation of the individual in the sphere of consumption. However, today the problem of providing these institutions with the necessary recommendations and methods faces the investigators of the problems of the formation of needs. As social experience shows, in forming personal needs so far we have relied more on the effect of objective socio-economic factors and have underestimated the importance of educational work on the formation of needs. For example, the pedagogical education of parents in practice does not touch upon these problems. But it is clear that the effect of the cultivation of the needs of the individual directly depends on whether purposeful educational influence was begun at an early age. Today it has been demonstrated that a child becomes familiar with the world first of all through things and the actions of an adult who knows how to use these things. The child masters the specifically human forms of realized interaction with the environment to the extent to which he learns to use things, they form his psyche. This occurs before a person masters language and speech. However, many parents do not know this.

But how many parents do not allow their youngsters to do anything, undermining at their basis the internal vigorous sources of the formation of needs "for a normal portion of labor" (Engels). All this affects the process of the formation of the future orientation of the individual both in the sphere of labor and in the sphere of consumption. One of the reasons for this is the lack of information.

Today the inclusion of sections on the theory of consumption and the practice of the consumer activity of the individual (in bourgeois and socialist societies) in school social science textbooks, in VUZ programs on philosophy, political economy and scientific communism, in the programs of instruction in the systems of political and economic education and the further training of personnel is quite legitimate.

It is impossible to underestimate the importance of culture when forming a reasonable orientation in the consumer activity of the individual. As "... the discovery, creation and satisfaction of the new needs evoked by society" take place, the cultivation "of all the qualities of a social person, his making as a person with as many rich qualities and contacts as possible" occur.[12] At the same time, Marx wrote, "... in order to avail oneself of a large number of things, a person should be capable of using them, that is, he should be a highly cultured person...."[13]

As some sociological data show, material prosperity and cultural growth develop in interconnection, but the formation of culture in its socially necessary completeness does not take place by itself. For example, in a 1978 study those surveyed characterized the cultural potential of their collectives as high (24.1 percent), average (39.5 percent) and low (36.4 percent). Of those surveyed 46 percent, that is, less than half, noted the high level of culture of their immediate supervisors, the remainder considered this level to be inadequately high.

Having a substantial influence on the development of needs by the appropriate offering of cultural goods and services is an important cultural task, which should be coordinated within the framework of the management of the economy, services and the educational system. So far these subsystems have fulfilled these tasks, having relations of traditional cooperation which does not ensure the necessary interrelationship. The imperfection of the methods of studying the real forms of cultural relations in different spheres of social life also hinders the process of the formation in reality of universal cultural forms. The fundamental analysis of the cultural contribution of the sphere of consumption to the development of society requires the redoubling of attention toward such problems as the role of cultural standards in the production of goods and services, in the formation of the requirements of consumers, the reflection of the cultural aspect of the consumer activity of the individual in the activity of the media and so forth.

The problems of cultivating reasonable needs requires a fundamental and creative discussion in the press, debates, theoretical and empirical research.

The examination of material needs in dialectical interrelationship with the system of social values is one of the conditions of the effective management of the sphere of consumption.

FOOTNOTES

1. M. A. Suslov, "Delo vsey partii" /A Matter of the Entire Party/, Moscow, 1979, p 18.

2. E. V. Il'yenkov, "The Problem of the Ideal," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 6, 1979, pp 138-139.

3. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." /Works/, Vol 24, p 455.

4. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 47, p 42.

5. The study was conducted by one of the authors of the article at metallurgical enterprises of Chelyabinsk (see L. N. Zhilina, N. T. Florova, "Problemy potrebleniya i vospitaniye lichnosti" /Problems of Consumption and the Education of the Individual/, Moscow, 1969).

6. Here and below the materials of the All-Union Sociological Study "Moral Education in the Labor Collective," which was conducted by the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee, the Higher School of the Trade Union Movement attached to the AUCCTU, the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee and the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, are used. The scientific directors of the study were Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Zh. T. Toshchenko and Candidate of Philosophical

Sciences V. F. Pravotorov. The head of the organizing group was Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. S. Kulagin, the head of the analysis group was Candidate of Philosophical Sciences L. N. Zhilina. The study covered 68 labor collectives in the Ukrainian, Azerbaijan, Lithuanian and Turkmen SSR's, the Tatarskaya and Checheno-Ingushskaya ASSR's, Krasnoyarskiy, Primorskiy and Stavropol'skiy krays, Kemerovskaya, Murmanskaya and Tul'skaya oblasts. In all about 12,000 people were surveyed. The authors of the article were participants in this study.

7. See L. N. Zhilina, N. T. Florova, Op. cit., p 64.

8. See "Rost blagosostoyaniya i dukhovnoy kul'tury zhiteley sela" /The Increase of the Well-Being and Spiritual Culture of Village Inhabitants/, Riga, 1979, pp 199-200.

9. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 42, pp 131, 132.

10. See, for example, S. N. Ikonnikova, V. T. Lisovskiy, "Molodezh' o sebe, o svoikh sverstnikakh" /Young People About Themselves, About People of Their Own Age/, Leningrad, 1969, p 91.

11. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1976, p 78.

12. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 46, Part 1, p 386.

13. Ibid.

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WAYS OF INCREASING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE MILITARY AND PATRIOTIC EDUCATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1980 pp 60-66

/Article by Candidate of Military Sciences Nikolay Nikolayevich Yefimov, Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov, and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Yuriy Ivanovich Deryugin, Institute of Military History of the USSR Ministry of Defense/

/Text/ Military and patriotic education is an integral component of the ideological and political education of the Soviet people. The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" plainly requires the redoubling of attention toward this question.[1] "The affirmation in the consciousness of the workers, first of all the young generation, of the ideas of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, of pride in the Soviet Union, in our homeland, and of the willingness to rise to the defense of the achievements of socialism was and remains one of the most important tasks of the party," L. I. Brezhnev noted at the 25th CPSU Congress.[2]

The main goal of military and patriotic education in our country is the purposeful formation among the Soviet people of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, a thorough understanding of the essence and content of Lenin's theory of the defense of the socialist homeland and the cultivation among them of lofty moral, political and psychological qualities. At the same time it sets as a goal the mastery of the military and technical knowledge which is necessary for fulfilling a sacred duty--the defense of the socialist homeland.

The comprehensive examination of the system of military and patriotic education of various categories of workers presumes the gathering and analysis of the appropriate sociological information. For this purpose a study was conducted among young people of call-up age of the city of Moscow and the oblast, students of Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov, as well as in a number of military commissariats of the Baltic Military District. Moreover, servicemen of the initial period of serice in some units and combined units, which are stationed in various regions of our country, were surveyed.[3]

During the study the status and effectiveness of the military and patriotic education of young people of call-up age and their training for service in the Armed Forces were investigated. The analysis of documents, incorporated observation, the distribution of questionnaires and interviewing were used to gather the data.

The system of military and patriotic education, like any integral system, has a specific organizational structure, a subject and an object of control.

The leadership of the Communist Party is the highest form of the management of the process of military and patriotic education in socialist society. Relying on Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the CPSU develops the theory of the educational process, determines its objectives and goals in conformity with the specific historical conditions, creates the conditions for the increase of the effectiveness of military and patriotic work and takes care of the broadening and improvement of its social, material and technical base.

Military and patriotic education is carried out by state and public organs (party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs, military commissariats, DOSAAF, creative unions), commanders and political organs of the Armed Forces, the family, the school, higher educational institutions and the media. It is characteristic that along with the aggregate of public forms this system includes initial military training at the secondary school and the military training of students of higher educational institutions, lessons at the educational centers of enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes and special courses at the military commissariats.

Thus, the system of military and patriotic education is distinguished by versatile, integrated organizational contacts and the close combination of state and public elements. The well-arranged centralized, comprehensive (day-to-day and long-range) planning of military and patriotic work and a high level of coordination of the efforts of all the organs and officials, who handle the process of military and patriotic education, are one of the most important conditions of the effective operation of this system.

At the same time our study showed that this condition is not always properly carried out in practical activity.

In particular, the problem of uniform criteria and indicators of the effectiveness of military and patriotic work remains unsolved. As the analysis shows, at present the set of these indicators is determined in different ways and often depends only on local conditions and possibilities and is not always closely interconnected with the main goals of the ideological and educational process. The lack of coordination of the various directions of education, sporadicness and spontaneity in the choice of the forms and methods of educational work are being observed. Inadequate attention is being devoted to the thematic diversity of the measures, their persuasiveness and emotional richness in conformity with the increased needs and requirements of young people.

There are a large number of different forms and methods of military and patriotic education, which are diverse in their content. Many of them have a great effectiveness of influence, others do not yield the desired result and, before having time to thrive, disappear then and there; finally, with a change in different social and sociopsychological conditions the great effectiveness of the forms and methods can decrease sharply. In this connection it is necessary to examine a number of questions which are of both methodological and practical importance.

From the methodological point of view the determination of a general approach, which would make it possible to properly select and use one form or another of military and political education and would ensure its conformity to certain conditions and to the general and specific traits of a specific social group, is of great importance.

When using a system of forms and methods of education, it is necessary to take into account the emotional, rational and practical features. Here the greatest effectiveness is achieved if the indicated components are inseparably connected, united and sequential.

Studies show that the inadequate consideration of this factor leads to a decrease of the effectiveness of many useful, and even necessary forms of educational work. At the same time the unity of the components being examined by us does not rule out the possibility that under certain conditions one of them may predominate over the others.

In practical activity forms of education are used, the implementation of which requires considerable time, others are used once. As a rule, the former are of a systems nature. Take as an example the universities of the future serviceman, military patriotic associations, various kinds of public clubs and sections. They have a permanent body of students, programs of training and education, which are designed for a long period. The further development of such systems forms is becoming an objective necessity.

The forms of education can have an individual and a mass direction. Studies show that in recent years mass forms of education have been finding especially active application. Frequently this happens to the detriment of individual educational work. The results of the study made by us attest to the need to step up the latter. According to the data of the survey of young draftees of the city of Moscow and the oblast, 40 percent of them believe that the improvement of individual work with young people, especially at the place of residence, is an indispensable condition for increasing the effectiveness of military and patriotic education.

The forms of patriotic education can be divided into active and passive.

The active forms afford the individual a greater opportunity not only to use certain information, but also to express his own opinion, to compare and contrast different views and assessments, to develop under the influence of a positive guiding principle a uniform approach to the solution of various

questions. In a business-like discussion and debate of principle the individual convictions, the assessments of each young person and his views on certain facts of reality or others are polished, the collective as a whole is tempered, public opinion is formed.

For all the unmistakable merits of the passive forms and their enormous importance for military and patriotic work they have limited possibilities of "feedback." Unquestionably it is impossible to examine the active and passive forms in isolation of each other, they are united and yield the desired result only with their proper combination. However, on the basis of the known peculiarities of young people and such qualities of them as the aspiration for self-affirmation, resourcefulness and energeticness, particular attention should be devoted to the introduction of the active forms of military and patriotic education, which, as studies show, enjoy great popularity and are more effective. Their more extensive introduction in the practice of military and patriotic education was supported by 72.5 percent of the surveyed draftees at the military commissariats located on the territory of the Moscow, Belorussian and Baltic military districts.

At the same time the study attests to the inadequate attention toward these forms of education. A survey of soldiers of the initial period of service showed that before entering the Army only about 12 percent of the young people attended such measures as readers' conferences, Komsomol-youth debates and evenings on military and patriotic themes.

Information about the Armed Forces and military service plays an important role in military and patriotic education. As studies show, the main channels for receiving it are the contact of young people with parents, relatives and fellow workers, who have served in the Armed Forces, and talks with instructors of educational institutions and the administration of the enterprise (kolkhoz, sovkhoz).

Moreover, more than 40 percent of the draftees receive letters from the Army. This type of information is of great importance, since it reflects the opinions of the people who are directly involved in the very system of military organization. Here it should be borne in mind that along with adequate information, distorted information about military service, the army way of life and style of life, which are due to various causes of a subjective nature and the psychological qualities of the individual, is possible.

The publication on the pages of the press of letters of thanks of the command to the parents of servicemen with excellent results in military and political training and of reports from military units and the visit to them of young people of call-up age are of enormous importance for the formation of the correct ideas of young people about the Armed Forces.

Movies, radio and television are an important source of mass information about military service. About 50 percent of the surveyed draftees of the city of Moscow and the oblast stated this. Similar results were also

obtained in other regions of the country. At the same time the survey of young people of call-up age of the city of Moscow and the oblast showed that 24.5 percent of the young people regularly watch the television program "I Serve the Soviet Union" and 26 percent watch "The Feat." In our opinion, the urgent need has arisen to study the conditions of the origin of and the means of forming the interests of television viewers in military and patriotic problems. On the whole the mass information on the modern Armed Forces of today needs further improvement both on the level of the tightening up of its coordination and in the expansion of the system of forms and methods of information. We are often still faced with the inadequate spiritual and physical training of some young people for army and naval service merely owing to the fact that they did not acquire in due time correct ideas about the modern army and did not get themselves mentally prepared to overcome the difficulties.

The study of the attitude of young people toward service in the ranks of the Armed Forces is one of the most important tasks facing sociological science in the area of the study of the problems of military and patriotic education.

As the results of the study attest, about 60 percent of the young people of call-up age felt drawn to military service and, moreover, experienced this desire back in the school years. Of those surveyed, 34.2 percent understand well the social importance of military service, although they do not have a particular interest in studying military affairs. Only 4.3 percent stated that the learning of a military specialty does not attract them at all.

The examination of the dynamics of the change in the opinion on this question among young draftees of different ages is of some practical interest. For the purposes of making such an analysis the entire group of draftees was divided into age groups. The obtained results are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Attitude of Young Draftees of Different Ages to Service in the Armed Forced, Percent of Those Surveyed, N = 1,500

Answers of those surveyed	Age groups, years		
	18-19	20-21	over 21
I am joining the army with much interest, I aspired to this back in my school years	58.0	34.0	25.0
I personally do not have a particular interest in studying military affairs, although I understand the social significance, need and importance of military service	34.2	56.0	52.3
The study of military affairs does not attract me at all	4.3	8.0	12.7
Did not respond	3.5	2.0	10.0

The cited data show that the aspiration for and interest in military service, the understanding of its social significance, need and importance among young people of different ages are not the same. Whereas among young people 18-19 years old they are expressed more clearly (92 percent of those surveyed expressed a positive opinion on this question), in the age group over 21 the interest in service decreases slightly (only 13 percent of those surveyed stated that the study of military affairs does not attract them at all). The cause of this situation is, apparently, the high degree of development among this category of young people of life plans, which do not involve serving a fixed period. These qualitative changes should be taken into account in the practical activity of the military commissariats. In the system of military and patriotic education as a whole attention should be directed to the search for specific forms and methods of work among young people of older ages.

On the whole the attitude of young people toward military service is characterized by quite high indicators: 86.5 percent of the young people realize its social significance and need. Only 8 percent disapprove of the learning of military specialties. The studies made it possible to draw the conclusion that in military service itself young people see a wide range of opportunities for their own improvement as individuals (see Table 2).

Table 2

Expectations of Young Draftees From Forthcoming Service in the Armed Forces, Percent of Those Surveyed, N = 1,600

In being drafted into the Soviet Army, do you consider it possible for yourself	Answers of those surveyed		
	Certainly	More yes than no	More no
To increase the level of your political training	66.7	30.3	3.0
To study military equipment well	77.7	20.4	1.9
To broaden your cultural outlook	58.7	21.6	19.7
To temper yourself morally and psychologically	69.1	21.0	9.9
To acquire skills in community work	39.5	40.2	20.3
To acquire good organizing skills	61.2	23.5	15.3
To receive good physical training	90.0	8.6	1.4

On the whole it can be considered that the overwhelming majority of young people link with military service the solution of many questions of importance to themselves. This once again confirms the opinion, which has formed among our people, that the Soviet Army and Navy are a fine school of education of young people.

In a study, which was conducted by the Scientific Research Problem Laboratory of the Communist Education of Young People and the Council for Military and Patriotic Education of Moscow State University, a close link was

established between the military training of students and their patriotic activity and value orientations. The students, who show greater progress in military subjects, have a higher level of patriotic activity. The high degree of correlation attests to the fact that the teaching of military disciplines not only provides students with military knowledge, but also is a most important factor of the formation of the personality of the student, his sociopolitical activeness and patriotic conviction.

Moreover, the results of the study showed that the level of patriotic activity and the corresponding value orientations among students, who served in the ranks of the Soviet Army before enrolling in a higher educational institution, is higher than among students, who had not served in the military. This should be taken into account in the organization of military and patriotic education. Students who have served in the Army and Navy should be recruited more extensively for participation in organizing work.

The attitude of young people toward military service is also expressed in their notions about the profession of a Soviet officer. As the results of the study attest, a young person who chooses this profession gives preference first of all to those values which express his personal idea and ideological convictions about fulfilling one's civic and military duty. This was indicated by 84.8 percent of those surveyed.

The analysis and generalization of the empirical material show that the social status of parents, as well as the factor of military service by the latter and their participation in World War II have a great influence on the choice by young people of the profession of an officer. According to the data of a questionnaire survey, the young people, the formation of whose occupational orientations takes place under the influence of parents who are employees (including servicemen), less readily give preference to the profession of an officer. About 60 percent of them responded negatively to the question in the questionnaire about the choice of the profession of an officer. Another thing is also characteristic: the parents or close relatives of 63 percent of those surveyed, who gave an affirmative answer, have comprehensive information about service, served themselved in peacetime or participated in World War II.

The still inadequate information of young people about the qualitative changes, which have occurred in the officers corps of the modern Armed Forces, is one of the factors having a negative influence on the type of vocational orientation, which we are examining. This was indicated by 36.8 percent of those surveyed.

Thus, in the system of military and patriotic education the diverse forms of the military vocational orientation of young people and the opportunities to acquaint them more extensively with the profession of an officer, especially with the qualitatively new characteristics of his labor, which arose under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution in military affairs, should be used more actively. In this respect the role of the youth military and patriotic schools, which are being set up at

military schools, in military units, educational organizations of DOSAAF, at schools of civil aviation, naval bases and ports, is great.

The specific features of military service require that more serious attention be devoted to the psychological preparation of young draftees. The system of military and patriotic education under current conditions should be conducive to the shortening of the period of adaptation of young people to the conditions of military service and their rapid "inclusion" in the military collective. The sooner the young serviceman gets into the strictly regulated rhythm of army life, the more actively he will try to seize the heights of military skill. This also concerns the problems of tightening up military discipline.

Back in 1925 M. V. Frunze in a speech at the conference of the Russian Komsomol noted that the causes of the majority of disciplinary offenses in the army are explained first of all "by the abruptness of the transition from general civilian conditions to military life."[4]

The data of the conducted study attest that the notions of young draftees about potential difficulties are connected first of all with the observance of military discipline, with the need to obey (42.2 percent of those surveyed indicated this), with great physical stresses (20.8 percent), with the mastery of complex equipment (12.9 percent). Thus, there is a certain psychological anxiety of young people about the forthcoming difficulties and the specific conditions of army life. It is important to direct this anxiety in the necessary direction, by cultivating among draftees stable psychological aims at overcoming the difficulties and by instilling in young people such qualities as a sense of duty, the understanding of one's personal responsibility to society for the defense of the achievements of socialism, the willingness to obey an order, the requirements of military manuals and the oath.

The establishment of close contact between practical workers and researchers, who are engaged in studying the problem being examined by us, is the most important condition of the increase of the effectiveness of the entire system of military and patriotic education. In this connection attention should be directed to the fact that the question of the military and patriotic education and training of young people for service in the Armed Forces have still be inadequately studied.

The activity of sociologists, who are engaged in studying the problems of the influence of the family and the school on the process of military and patriotic education and the increase of its effectiveness at the secondary specialized and higher educational institutions of the country, requires considerable intensification.

The problem of organizing this work at the place of residence, especially with adolescents, whose education involves certain difficulties, merits a separate thorough study. In this respect it is especially important to devote attention to the study of the mechanism of the formation of informal

groups and to elaborate pratical recommendations on the intensification of military and patriotic work in these surroundings.

The research work in the area of the moral, political and psychological preparation of young people for service in the Armed Forces, the formation of positive orientations and aims toward military service, the willingness of young people to bear its burdens and difficulties and the cultivation of great discipline and collectivism requires appreciable improvement and broadening.

It is also necessary to study more extensively the problems of elaborating military and patriotic themes in the cinema, on television and radio.

In scientific research activity more attention should be focused on the study of the conditions and the ways of increasing the effectiveness of the military and patriotic education of young people, the examination of the entire set of factors which influence the ideological educational process. In this connection the selection, placement and training of the organizers who perform this work are one of the important questions.

Under the conditions of the growing ideological confrontation of the two opposed social systems the intensification of scientific research activity in the area of the struggle against bourgeois ideology and the study of the role and place of the military and patriotic education of the rising generation in the solution of this important problem are of the greatest importance.

Military and patriotic education in its structure is distinguished by complexity and diversity. Its effectiveness to a considerable extent depends on the availability of the necessary sociological information on the trends, phenomena and processes taking place among young people. This places in the forefront the further development of sociological research and its coordination on a national scale. The problem of increasing the effectiveness of military and patriotic education can be solved only on a thorough scientific basis, with the extensive introduction of the practical recommendations which have been elaborated during the research.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy raboty. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS ot 26 aprelya 1979 g." /On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 26 April 1979/, Moscow, 1979, p 15.

2. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1976, p 75.

3. The total size of the sample was more than 2,000 people.

4. M. V. Frunze, "Speech at the Russian Komsomol Conference on 17 June 1925," "Izbrannyye proizvedeniya" /Selected Works/, Vol 2, Moscow, 1957, p 386.

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[The following articles were not translated by JPRS]

LENIN'S CODE OF LAWS AND FREEDOMS OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND ITS DEVELOPMENT IN THE NEW USSR CONSTITUTION, pp 67-75

[By Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Viktor Mikhaylovich Chkhikvadze, chief of the Sector of Theoretical Problems of the Legal Status of the Individual of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

THE PRODUCTION COLLECTIVE: MANAGEMENT, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, pp 76-83

[By Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Feliks Mikhaylovich Rudich]

APPLIED RESEARCH

FACTORS OF THE STABILIZATION OF THE PERSONNEL AT THE CONSTRUCTION SITE OF THE BAYKAL-AMUR MAIN RAIL LINE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1980 pp 84-87

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/Text/ The sociodemographic policy in the regions of new development involves the solution of two problems: the attraction of the necessary contingent of workers and the assurance of their adaptability. At present no serious difficulties are arising with the attraction of construction workers to BAM /Baykal-Amur Main Rail Line/, on the contrary, tens of thousands of applications are being received from people wanting to take part in the construction project.[1] But the formation here of stable production collectives remains an urgent problem.

The factors of the formation of the labor force can be broken down into three groups. The first is connected with the daily living conditions of the construction workers, the second is connected with the forms and conditions of their recruitment, the third is connected with production conditions. When analyzing these factors we ranked them according to the degree of importance, using the methods which are applied when studying the motivation of labor activity.[2] The essence of the method reduces to the following: the rating given by the respondents to the factors of the formation of the labor force is compared with their answers to the question about the length of the proposed stay at BAM. The importance of each factor was determined by the closeness of the statistical interdependence of the rating of the factor and the proposed length of stay at BAM. In other words, if a worker is satisfied with his life at the construction project and does not intend to leave in the next five years, this is due to the factors which received his favorable rating. A negative attitude toward one of the factors in those cases, when the respondents intend to continue to participate in the construction, attests that the dissatisfaction with this factor does not significantly influence the overall positive rating of life on the route.

Comparison of the Importance of the Factors of the Formation of the Labor Force at the BAM Construction Site

Factors of the stabilization of the labor force	Time of survey			
	Summer of 1975		Summer of 1976	
	Value of index	Rank	Value of index	Rank
A. At the project				
1. Wages	0.67	1	0.40	3-4
2. Working conditions	0.55	2	0.41	2
3. Relations with the administration	0.51	3	0.40	3-4
4. Job being performed	0.46	4	0.45	1
5. Organization of labor	0.38	5	0.19	13
6. Interrelations in the collective	0.10	11	0.17	14
B. Outside production				
7. Spending of free time	0.25	7	0.38	5-6
8. Supply with foodstuffs	0.23	8	0.27	10-11
9. Housing conditions	0.21	9	0.26	12
10. Natural and climatic conditions	0.12	10	0.06	17
11. Supply with industrial goods	0.07	12	0.15	15
12. Operation of public dining enterprises	0.02	13	0.34	9
13. Medical service	-0.04	14	0.36	8
14. Personal service	-0.21	16	0.37	7
15. Operation of children's institutions	--	--	0.12	16
C. Conditions of Recruitment of the Labor Force				
16. Information	0.23	6	0.38	5-6
17. Motives for coming	-0.11	15	0.27	10-11

The analysis of the responses to the question about the plans of the construction workers concerning the term of their stay at BAM made it possible to distinguish two groups of those surveyed: those who intend to work and live here for a long time (five years or more)[4] and those who mentioned as the term of their stay at the construction project two or three years or less.

According to the data of a questionnaire survey in 1975 and a follow-up survey in 1976 an index of the importance of the rating of the individual factors of the formation of the labor force was calculated.[5] The difference of the ratings on each of the factors between the groups of those satisfied and dissatisfied with life at the construction site of the route revealed the "weight" of this parameter in the indicated set of conditions of vital activity. Then ranked series of the factors of the formation of the labor force at the construction site were constructed.

In 1975 a shift of the most important factors into the production sphere was observed. In our opinion, this is explained by the fact that the builders of BAM during those years were interested first of all in questions connected with work under the specific conditions of the major new construction project. Moreover, great labor enthusiasm was one of the main reasons for the trailblazers to come to BAM. The most significant factors of living at BAM in the summer fo 1975 were: wages, working conditions and relations with the administration (see the table). Personal and medical service, the motivation for coming to the route and the operation of public dining enterprises were unimportant as compared with the other conditions.

After a year the absolute values of the indices of importance decreased somewhat for the most important factors of the attachment of manpower, while for the majority of the other indicators of living and working conditions at BAM the value of the indices increased.

As a result the sequence of arrangement of the factors changed somewhat:[6] the job being performed, the working conditions and the relations with the administration, the spending of free time and preliminary (before coming to the regions of the laying of the route) information about the conditions of vital activity. The supply with industrial goods, the operation of children's institutions and the natural and climatic conditions were rated as unimportant.

The fact that the factor "wages" moved to 3d-4th place, while the factor reflecting the content of labor ("the job being performed") was in 1st place, attracts attention; the factors "working conditions" and "relations with the administration" retained their importance for the construction workers, while "the organization of labor" and "interrelations in the collective" slipped to the lower part of the ranked series.

Among the factors characterizing the conditions of the daily life of those surveyed, in 1975 the spending of free time, the supply with foodstuffs and housing conditions had the greatest "weight."

After a year only the factor "the spending of free time" retained its leading position. In the value of the index "personal and medical service" and "the operation of public dining enterprises" approached it. In spite of the fact that the indices of such factors as "the supply with foodstuffs" and "housing conditions" increased, they shifted to 11th-12th place.

The analysis of the table makes it possible to draw the conclusion that in both 1975 and 1976 the factors connected with production had the greatest influence on the satisfaction with life of the builders of BAM. However, after a short period of time a tendency was noticed for the importance of two other groups of factors to increase, namely: the conditions of the recruitment of the labor force and nonproduction factors. During the year the importance of the production factors decreased by more than 5 percent, the importance of the nonproduction factors rose by more than 9 percent, while the importance of the conditions of the recruitment of the labor force increased by 12 percent. Thus, with the maintenance of the detected trend a substantial decrease of the influence of production factors on the satisfaction of the construction workers with their life at the construction project and, consequently, on the term of their stay in the BAM zone is being predicted.

Sociological studies at other major new construction projects confirm our conclusion that a few years after the start of the construction work the adaptability of potential mirgants depends first of all on social and everyday conditions.[7]

Let us examine the set of factors of the formation of stable staffs, which was obtained on the basis of their rating by construction workers. Two matrices (according to the results of the surveys in 1975 and 1976) of the correlation coefficients for all the above-mentioned factors were calculated in order to solve this problem. The estimate of the closeness of the relationship between them was made using the Jule coefficient of associations (Q), which fluctuates over the range of +1 to -1.[8]

The analysis shows not only that the group of factors of the use of the labor force during this period was the most important, but also that nearly all the factors belonging to it were interconnected closely enough--$Q \geq 0.7$. Consequently, we are dealing with a unique set of factors which have a complementary influence on the object. This attests that the above-examined ranking of the factors by importance does not make it possible to give a complete evaluation of their role in the formation of stable production collectives.

The factors characterizing the living conditions of the construction workers, given $Q \geq 0.7$, formed a chain, the links of which are: housing conditions--natural and climatic conditions--the supply with industrial goods--the supply with foodstuffs. These factors, although located in the lower half of the ranked series, owing to their interdependence in 1975 came out in 2d place according to the degree of influence on the formation of the labor force.

The factors of the use of the labor force and the group of nonproduction factors in their influence on the object had little interconnection. In other words, the construction workers approached differentially the rating of production and nonproduction conditions of life on the route. This is explained by the fact that during the first years of construction its participants treat the shortcomings in the social and everyday sphere with understanding. The construction workers virtually do not carry over the attitude toward it to the production sphere, and vice versa: the labor activity has little influence on the rating of the everyday living conditions at the construction project. Moreover, at the start of the construction the social and everyday problems are of a secondary, subordinate nature.

With time (and the more unsatisfactory things become in production and the slower the rate of development of the social infrastructure at the construction project is, the shorter this time interval is) a shift of the emphasis occurs and nonproduction factors begin to play a more and more important role in the attachment of personnel.

In 1976 the group of factors of the use of the labor force was also characterized by an interdependence, but a weaker one than before. Whereas in 1975 10 relations with $Q \geq 0.7$ were noted in this group, a year later the number of relations of the same strength decreased to six.

In the nonproduction sphere two chains of interdependent factors emerged. The first one is: the operation of public dining enterprises--medical service--personal service--the operation of children's institutions, the second is: the supply with industrial goods--the supply with foodstuffs.

In 1975 basically weak relations with $0.5 \geq Q \geq 0.59$ existed between the factors characterizing the living conditions of the construction workers. After a year the number of these relations did not change, but new ones with $Q \geq 0.6$ appeared in addition. Between the groups of production and nonproduction factors the number of relations increased more than twofold, reaching 12, while their importance increased somewhat.

As the term of stay of the construction workers at the route increases, the intensity of the interactions of the factors of the formation of a permanent contingent of workers does not lessen, but, on the contrary, increases. This once again confirms the conclusion: it is impossible to ensure a high adaptability of construction workers in a region of new development by increasing one or two indicators of the standard of living--it is necessary to create normal conditions for the satisfaction of all the basic needs of the workers.

Along with the improvement of the entire complex of conditions of vital activity the further development of the system of the recruitment and training of construction workers and the more effective and diversified operation of public organizations on the route with allowance made for the fact that the majority of construction workers of BAM are young people, are necessary.

FOOTNOTES

1. Of the BAM construction workers 60 percent are city residents. Among the young workers 55 percent have a secondary, secondary specialized or higher education; more than 90 percent of the men came here having a construction specialty.

2. See "Chelovek i yego rabota" /Man and His Work/, Moscow, 1967, pp 78-79.

3. The rating of the factors found expression in the responses: "is suitable," "is not suitable." We proceeded from the assumption that if a worker intends to work and live at the construction site for a long time (five years or more), he can be considered to be satisfied with his life on the route. Thus, this indicator acted as a control indicator for the determination of the importance of a factor.

4. There are studies which confirm the great coincidence of the verbal and real migratory behavior of the respondents. For example, according to the results of surveys at the Kirovskiy zavod Association B. I. Maksimov established that the real length of service at a plant corresponds almost completely to the time which those who came here proposed to work. The greatest coincidence is characteristic for the period of approximately one to six years (see B. I. Maksimov, "The Industrial Enterprise as the Subject of Sociological Research," candidate dissertation abstract, Leningrad, 1974, p 82).

5. The questionnaire survey covered more than 500 people who are working on different sections of the road. The organization of the sociological study at BAM is covered in detail in our articles: see SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, Nos 2 and 3, 1976.

6. The changes which occurred during the year are the consequence of two circumstance. The sample in the summer of 1975 was made up of 3,000 people. By the time the follow-up survey was conducted, the sampled population had decreased by more than 600 people due to workers who had quit. Some of them (about 50 percent) after quitting left the construction site. The other circumstance is connected with the fact that some changes in the ratings of the living conditions at BAM took place during this period among those who continued to work on the route.

7. See T. G. Gaponova, "The Formation of the Population in the Tyumen' North," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 2, 1976, p 64.

8. The significance of the obtained values of Q was verified using the criterion χ^2 (see "Rabochaya kniga sotsiologa" /Workbook of the Sociologist/, Moscow, 1976, pp 192-195).

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THE MOTIVES OF RURAL POPULATION MIGRATION AND THEIR REGULATION (BASED ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE LOWER VOLGA REGION)

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/Text/ In order to understand the nature of migration[1] it is important first of all to study the motives of migratory behavior, since objective and subjective factors, real living conditions, the needs and interests of migrants are reflected in them.

The motives of migration differ substantially depending on the migration flows (internal and external, between villages or between the village and the city and vice versa). The motives connected with being sent to a job,[2] with a transfer, call-up and organized recruitment, opportunities to increase wages, the management of a private farm and family ties are equally characteristic of the external migrants in the villages of both regions. Moreover, the motives connected with natural conditions are characteristic of those who have come to the villages of Saratovskaya Oblast, while the motives connected with the desire to live in one's native region and with a move to where one's parents live are characteristic in the Kalmyk ASSR.

The potential migrants from Saratovskaya Oblast most often link the proposed departure with the desire to return to the place of one's birth (to the former place of residence), family ties and the supply of goods. Along with the above-indicated motives the dissatisfaction with natural, housing and living conditions is characteristic of the external migrants from the Kalmyk ASSR (primarily representatives of the peoples of the Northern Caucasus).

In the case of internal migration to the villages of Saratovskaya Oblast from its urban areas there were most often indicated as the motives "on assignment after graduation from an educational institution" (45.6 percent) and "the desire to have better housing and living conditions" (26.3 percent), and the latter motive constitutes approximately equal proportions

among those who arrived in all the migration flows--internal and external, from rural and from urban areas. The migrants from rural areas as compared with the others more often cited motives connected with the opportunities to obtain an interesting job--15.3 percent, to increase their education and skills--13.8 percent and with transportation conditions--7.7 percent.

In Kalmyk there is a high proportion of migrants who were attracted by the opportunity to obtain an interesting job (especially among migrants from rural areas--28.3 percent), by higher wages (primarily from urban areas--20.5 percent), as well as who came through assignment, a transfer, call-up and organized recruitment (primarily from urban areas--22.8 percent). The motives connected with the opportunities to increase one's education were mentioned less frequently (3.8 percent--from rural areas), which was due to the extensive development of the system of boarding schools.

The potential migrants from villages to cities of the same region first of all mentioned motives for departure, which are connected with the opportunities to increase one's education and skills, cultural and everyday conditions (in Saratovskaya Oblast, moreover, with the conditions of communications and transportation, in the Kalmyk ASSR with housing and living conditions and the supply of goods). In both regions the most frequently encountered motive for the proposed move to other villages is the dissatisfaction with the content and conditions of work (50 percent of the potential migrants).

The comparison of the living conditions of the places left and settled in is also conducive to the identification of the motives and causes of migration. In the Kalmyk ASSR the expansion and intensive development of agricultural production, land reclamation and the specialization of farms are being carried out most rapidly, much new equipment is being put into operation. An allowance in the amount of 30 percent of the wage (for aridity) is available here. All this is attracting here the population from the Northern Caucasus Region, with is located nearby and is well-provided with labor. But the natural, housing and living conditions in Kalmykia are less favorable for the life of people than in Saratovskaya Oblast and in the Northern Caucasus Region, and therefore are repelling factors. Droughts, winds and sand storms are frequent in the region, which also creates difficulties in caring for domesticated livestock on the private plot. The amount of personal services per inhabitant in the villages of Kalmyk in 1975 was two-thirds as much as in Saratovskaya Oblast.

In the villages of Saratovskaya Oblast the living conditions as compared with the previous place of residence are rated as better by about half of those who came from rural areas (internal and external) and as worse by 15.4 percent of the internal migrants and 26.7 percent of the external migrants. Among those who came from rural areas 31.6 percent of the internal migrants and 66.7 percent of the external migrants rated them as worse. In accordance with the distribution of the ratings of the living conditions the composition of the migrants who settled down also differs: the

greatest portion is made up of emigrants from internal rural areas (42.9 percent), the smallest portion is made up of emigrants from external urban areas (9.9 percent).

In the villages of Kalmyk only 14.1 percent of the external migrants from rural areas rated the living conditions as worse (among the migrants from urban areas there are twofold more). The greatest portion of people who believe that the living conditions here are better is among the migrants from internal rural areas--35.8 percent.

For a more vivid revelation of the peculiarities of the influence of factors in connection with the differences in the intensity and success of migration six groups of villages were singled out, which are distinguished by the intensity, direction and proportion of migration in the average annual number of inhabitants of the village: I--with an influx of population and a negligible intensity of countermigrations; II--with an influx and a high intensity of countermigrations; III--stable with a high intensity of countermigrations; IV--stable with a negligible intensity of countermigrations; V--with an outflow and a high intensity of countermigrations; VI--with an outflow and a negligible intensity of countermigrations.[3] The study showed that the same factors operate in all the groups of villages, but their combinations according to the strength and direction of influence determine the different intensity and success of the migration process. This is evident from the structure of the motives of migration (see Tables 1, 2) and from the combination of the satisfaction with the living conditions (see Table 3).

The working conditions, first of all the availability of vacancies and the more extensive choice of occupations, favorable sanitary and hygienic conditions of work, its better organization and schedule are strong attracting factors. This can be seen well from the example of the new specialized farms, which are attracting specialists of the most diverse specialties, young people, people of different nationalities. The proportion of those satisfied with the working conditions at them is the highest (84 percent in Saratovskaya Oblast and 88.5 percent in Kalmyk), here there are practically no motives for leaving, which are connected with them. And on the other hand, the working conditions, and first of all its schedule, act as a strong repelling factor: in group VI of the villages, where 44.1 percent of those surveyed are not satisfied with the working conditions, one migrant in four leaves precisely for this reason.

Today administrative and organizational measures play an important role in the attraction of the population to villages. From 12 to 26 percent of the newly arrived population came for motives connected with this factor (on assignment after studies, on assignment, because of a transfer, call-up, organized recruitment).

The relations in the collective concerning the distribution of jobs, equipment, wages and so on also act as a factor of migration. Dissatisfaction with them is observed more often in villages with an outflow and a high intensity of migration processes. Thus, in some villages the appropriate job

is not always made available for young specialists who have graduated from higher and secondary specialized educational institutions in economic management, while a number of positions are held by workers without the necessary education; in the assignment of workplaces family ties leave a perceptible mark; at times the system of the transfer of workers from certain workplaces to others is considerably limited, differences also exist in the wage system of newly arrived and local residents.

Table 1

Motives for Coming to the Villages of Saratovskaya Oblast and the Kalmyk ASSR, Percent of Those Named

Motives for coming	Groups of villages*								
	Saratovskaya Oblast*					Kalmytskaya ASSR*			
	I	II	IV	V	VI	II	III	IV	V
Working conditions	25.0	15.4	42.2	25.3	18.2	32.6	17.6	21.2	21.5
Natural conditions	12.5	9.0	2.6	5.5	1.3	5.0	6.4	5.0	3.1
Material conditions	26.7	24.4	18.4	28.1	28.6	28.1	8.0	6.3	27.7
Cultural and everyday conditions	--	--	--	0.8	--	0.7	--	--	--
Opportunity to increase education, skills	--	5.1	--	4.8	13.0	1.2	0.8	--	--
Conditions of communications, conveyance	2.5	7.7	--	1.5	2.6	1.7	1.6	--	--
Return to native regions	0.8	1.3	--	--	1.3	3.7	17.6	18.8	18.5
Family ties	28.3	32.0	34.2	28.1	32.4	20.7	43.2	47.5	21.5
Motives connected with structure of the population (sex, age, national and others)	--	1.3	--	--	--	1.7	0.8	--	3.1
Other living conditions	4.2	3.8	2.6	5.9	2.6	4.6	4.0	1.2	4.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Among the studied villages of Saratovskaya Oblast none belonging to group III were found, while in the Kalmyk ASSR none belonging to groups I and VI were found.

The study showed that different elements of the material and general conditions of life have a different influence on the migration process. Wages in combination with working conditions are one of the strongest factors of the regulation of migration processes. Housing conditions also play a leading role. The proportion of apartments with amenities is higher in the villages of group I. Houses are being build with gas, a bath and private plots. Private houses and private plots are factors which check the migration of the population from villages, especially in villages of group IV, where about 90 percent of the families have large private plots, while the management of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes provides the workers well with fodder for livestock. The opportunity to have significant private plots and personal flocks of sheep is attracting settlers from the Dagestanskaya and Checheno-Ingushskaya ASSR's to the villages of Kalmyk.

Table 2

Motives for Leaving the Villages of Saratovskaya Oblast and the Kalmyk ASSR, Percent of Those Names

Motives for leaving	Groups of villages								
	Saratovskaya Oblast					Kalmytskaya ASSR			
	I	II	IV	V	VI	II	III	IV	V
Working conditions	--	--	12.5	16.1	25.0	3.8	14.1	18.6	5.9
Natural conditions	2.4	--	--	2.2	1.7	10.4	4.2	18.6	8.8
Material conditions	19.5	20.0	--	15.1	11.7	16.0	26.8	20.9	32.4
Cultural and everyday conditions	14.7	20.0	12.5	18.3	23.4	15.1	18.3	9.3	17.6
Conditions for increasing education, skills	19.5	15.0	25.0	15.0	13.3	8.5	4.2	2.3	2.9
Conditions of communications, conveyance	12.2	15.0	12.5	2.1	13.3	1.9	8.5	--	--
Return to native regions	2.4	10.0	--	7.5	--	16.9	5.6	7.0	11.8
Family ties	19.5	5.0	25.0	11.8	--	17.0	14.1	9.3	8.8
Motives connected with the structure of the population (sex, age, national and others)	4.9	15.0	12.5	10.8	8.3	6.6	2.8	9.3	5.9
Other living conditions	4.9	--	--	1.1	3.3	3.8	1.4	4.7	5.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 3

Proportion of Inhabitants of Villages of Saratovskaya Oblast and the Kalmyk ASSR, Who Are Dissatisfied With Living Conditions, Percent

Living conditions	Groups of villages								
	Saratovskaya Oblast					Kalmytskaya ASSR			
	I	II	IV	V	VI	II	III	IV	V
Housing conditions and services	22.1	42.0	14.1	37.6	37.6	29.3	19.4	31.2	18.0
Operation of children's institutions	2.1	2.0	42.2	3.2	11.8	7.0	7.5	7.5	2.0
Cultural and everyday conditions	12.6	46.0	60.0	40.8	73.1	36.9	50.5	59.1	36.0
Natural conditions	8.4	4.0	1.6	--	3.2	34.4	15.0	48.4	52.0
Opportunity to increase education, skills	28.4	18.0	32.8	28.0	48.4	28.0	34.4	19.4	64.0
Working conditions	16.8	16.0	28.1	23.2	44.1	11.5	22.6	43.0	46.0
Wages	29.5	24.0	15.6	33.6	43.0	21.7	21.5	34.4	48.0

The increase of the demands on housing conditions is also significant. Wherever housing construction is being carried out extensively, but with inadequate quality, the intensity of countermigrations is high. The villages with an intensive outflow of the population, as a rule, are considerably inferior to other groups of villages in the provision of amenities.

The provision of children's institutions, which to a considerable extent affects the level of employment of the population, the organization of health care, the level and structure of the supply of goods are supplementary factors of migration.

The building of 10-year schools everywhere at the central farmsteads has reduced the migration of young people from rural areas after the eighth grade. In connection with the need for the education of children the families often migrate from the branches of farms to the central farmsteads. In Kalmyk the children of shepherds and the inhabitants of remote farms study at the boarding schools at the central farmsteads. But the lack or inadequate development of special education in the villages is promoting to a considerable extent the outflow of young people to the cities. The young people who go to study in the cities, even in specialties needed in the village, become accustomed to the urban way of life and often do not return.

An organized system of personnel training is conducive to the optimum attachment of young people. In villages of group I, as a rule, in addition to training at special educational institutions in farm management a system of personnel training has been developed locally, at their own academic production combines. For example, at the Luganskiy Sovkhoz it is possible to acquire the specialties of tractor driver, combine operator, driver, as well as construction worker. During the 10 months of training at the academic production combine the sovkhoz pays the students a stipend. There is a close link here with the rural school, especially in the matter of on-the-job training. All this is promoting the attachment of personnel. Even during the harvest the sovkhoz has begun to do without assistance from outside.

The attachment of rural young people to their native village largely depends on the activity of Komsomol organizations, but the Komsomol organization is not always active, assistance is not always given to it and it is answerable for the work in this direction.

The low level of cultural and everyday conditions is a repelling factor. Thus, in villages with an outflow of the population (group VI) the dissatisfaction with this factor is 73.1 percent, while in villages of group I it is only 12.6 percent. However, precisely it comes to the forefront among the main motives for leaving where the satisfaction with housing conditions and services and working conditions is quite high.

In connection with the fact that the condition of roads and transportation service in rural areas lags behind the urban level, on the whole it acts as a repelling factor. At the same time the unsatisfactory conditions of transportation often are a restrictive factor of the necessary and desirable migration from villages, since they complicate both the move itself and the contact of people after the move.

Family ties have a considerable influence on the motives of migration among both arriving and departing migrants. Often, being a concomitant of other factors, the motives for coming, which are governed by these ties, are displayed most in stable villages.

The disproportionate sex-age structure in the villages has become a strong factor of migration. Young people leave the villages at the highest rate for reasons which are connected with the opportunities to increase their education, the work schedule and cultural and everyday conditions, which is conducive to an increase of the proportion of older ages. This circumstance, as well as the disproportion of men and women, which arises as a result of different employment opportunities, in turn increase the intensity of migration and the outflow. Among the motives for leaving "the desire to live among young people," "the prospect of starting a family" and so on are beginning to predominate.

The analysis of migration motives shows that the development of production in villages, the increase of the need for manpower and administrative and organizational regulation are being inadequately supported by the improvement of working conditions and the assignment of workers in accordance with the aptitude for work and interests, by the improvement of cultural, everyday, housing and living conditions and so on, that is, by the purposeful creation of the predominance of attractive factors. Repelling factors, which act counter to administrative and organizational measures (even in combination with attractive pay, for example, in Kalmyk), are responsible for the great intensity and negative balance of the migration process. The latter are the worse in the combination of both strongly attractive and repelling factors, which gives rises to the temporariness of residence in villages and the frequent replacement of some advantages by others.

The intensity of the migratory interchange and the results of the redistribution of the population are closely connected with working conditions and the level of pay, the satisfaction of the population with them. The counteraction of these factors or the combination of their attractiveness with the repelling effect of housing conditions and services and cultural and everyday conditions governs its great intensity. The satisfaction with housing conditions and wages governs the quite significant stability of the population. The existence of attractive factors (good working conditions, housing, cultural and everyday conditions with the satisfaction with other conditions on an average level) ensures an influx of the population with a negligible intensity of countermigrations. When the working conditions, housing, cultural and everyday conditions act as repelling factors, an outflow of the population occurs with a negligible intensity of the migratory interchange.

The living conditions within villages and outside them have a different influence on the migration of different groups, since the contradictions causing migration are also governed by the social status of the potential migrants, their material security, state of health, the composition of the family and so on.

The motives for leaving, which are connected with getting an interesting job in one's specialty, with working and living conditions, with housing and transportation conditions and with opportunities to get married, predominate among women, as compared with men. The migrations of men are more often connected with the desire to have higher wages, as well as to find a job for their wives in their specialty. The motives, which are connected with the improvement of working conditions, with family ties and the opportunity to increase one's education and skills, are characteristic of workers; the motives, which are connected with cultural, everyday and housing conditions, the supply of goods, as well as natural conditions (in Kalmykia), are characteristic of specialists. With the increase of the level of the general and vocational education of migrants the proportions of the motives, which are connected with family ties and housing condition, decrease and the opportunity to increase one's education and skills and the content of labor come to the forefront.

In all the groups of villages among the factors of migration the living conditions, and first of all the working conditions, play the main role. Many school graduates noted when being interviewed that in the village there are places of work, which correspond to their aptitude for work and their interests, but due to dissatisfaction with the conditions, and first of all the work schedule, they plan to leave.

From the point of view of the increase of the efficiency of the production of physical and spiritual wealth, as well as the comprehensive development of the personality of the worker it is important to achieve the most complete conformity between the aptitude for work, the personal interests of a person in one type of activity or another and the job being performed. The interviewing in the villages of Kalmyk and Saratovskaya Oblast showed that such a conformity so far has not been completely achieved, and the extents of the discrepancy between the mental and physical capabilities of the workers and the job being performed by them vary over a quite broad range (Table 4). As we see, the level of conformity of the job being performed to the general training of the labor force and the personal interests among the men in both regions as a whole is higher than among women.

The certain discrepancy between the level of development of manpower and the conditions of its functioning places in the forefront the question of the availability in a given area of workplaces which correspond more to the skills and specialty of the workers. In this connection the people, who indicated that the job being performed does not completely correspond to their aptitude for work, were asked the question: "Are there available in your village workplaces which correspond to a greater degree to your aptitude for work?" The analysis of the responses showed that the men in the Kalmyk ASSR have extensive opportunities to meet the need for the proper job. The problem of workplaces, which match the modern type of workers, is considerably more acute in Saratovskaya Oblast (see Table 5). In both regions the opportunities to choose workplaces for women in the villages are considerably less than for men, and, consequently, steps to

rationalize the employment of women are neceesary, since the orientation toward permanent residence in the village is considerably greater among people, whose job corresponds to their aptitude for work and interests.

Table 4

Conformity of the Job Being Performed to the Level of Education, Specialty, Skills and Personal Interests of Workers, Percent of Those Surveyed

Contingent	Job being performed				
	Level of education	Specialty	Actual skills	Personal interests completely	Personal interests not completely
Saratovskaya Oblast					
Men	82	66	81	58	22
Women	67.5	55	73.7	53.7	18.8
Kalmyk ASSR					
Men	71.4	85.7	71.4	57.1	28.6
Women	66.7	66.7	40.0	60	20

Table 5

Rating of Workplaces by Village Inhabitants in Conformity With Their Aptitude for Work and Interests, Percent of Those Surveyed

Rating	Saratovskaya Oblast		Kalmytskaya ASSR	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
There are many such places	5.0	3.8	50	--
Such places exist	35.0	25.0	50	40
There are few such places	21.7	28.9	--	20
There are no such places	30.0	40.4	--	40
Hard to answer	8.3	1.9	--	--

The measures on regulating migration should be used differentially by groups of villages, in different combination--depending on the intensity of migration, the proportion of the influx or outflow in the number of inhabitants of the village and on the basis of the requirements of the demographic and social reproduction of the population. In villages with a large outflow of the population, influence on the entire complex of factors is required in order to reduce both the outflow and the intensity of migration. In order to check the outflow and to stimulate the influx of the population it is necessary first of all to improve working conditions, to increase the employment opportunities of women, to increase wages and to develop the system of vocational training. In order to increase the intensity of the migration process as a whole and to reduce the outflow of the population in villages with an outflow and a negligible intensity of migrations it is also important to develop means of communication and conveyance. In villages, which are stable for the increase of the influx of the population, it is

first of all necessary to broaden the structure of the workplaces and to introduce a shift system in work. Moreover, for both an influx and an reduction of the intensity of migration it is important to improve cultural and everyday conditions and the supply with goods. In order to increase the intensity of migration the structure of the workplaces and the system of personnel training, as well as transportation conditions should be improved.

For the most extensive attraction of migrants to villages with an influx of the population and a negligible intensity of migration it is necessary to improve in them even further the cultural and everyday conditions, the system of vocational training and the supply with goods. In villages with an influx of the population and a great intensity of countermigrations special attention should be devoted to housing, living, cultural and everyday conditions.

The analysis made of the migration of the population in the rural areas of the Lower Volga Region shows that the migration of the population should be influenced comprehensively by the improvement of living conditions. The solution of individual problems provides only a temporary impact in the regulation of migration and is responsible for its great intensity. The regulation should be differential, on the basis of the specific features of one or another area, village, group of the population. Both the internal factors of the region and the external factors of various regions interact, being a unified system. Therefore it is impossible to achieve the desired migration interchange by bringing pressure to bear on the population and the living conditions only in the region left or the region of desired settlement, it is necessary to bring pressure to bear simultaneously on two or more regions (centers of population, areas), which are being exchanged by the population, by comprehensive coordinated planning.

FOOTNOTES

1. The data of a sample survey in two regions of the Lower Volga Region, which are polar in the intensity of the migration processes in this region, are the basis for the article: the Kalmyk ASSR, where in 1975 in rural areas it was 1.5- to 1.9-fold greater than in the Lower Volga Region, and Saratovskaya Oblast, where its level is relatively low. The choice of the region was governed by the fact that in the Volga Region, a major industrial base and at the same time an important agricultural region, which occupies a central location in the country, the intensity of migration is the closest to the average for the RSFSR.

   In Saratovskaya Oblast the survey was conducted in villages of Marksovskiy, Krasnopartizanskiy, Balashovskiy, Arkadakskiy and Krasnoarmeyskiy rayons, in Kalmyk it was conducted in villages of Yashkul'skiy, Chernozemel'skiy and Iki-Burul'skiy rayons. In all 16 villages were studied and about 1,000 people were surveyed. In both regions rayons with extreme indicators of migration were taken for the study. Further, the

centers of population were selected according to the intensity and the balance of migration; the choice of the families for the survey was made by mechanical selection according to accounting books, while the choice of respondents in the family was made by a random indicator (depending on the initials of the family members, whose age is 16 years or more), owing to which people of different ages and occupations, men and women and so on became a part of the sample.

2. Of the external migrants from urban areas, 25.6 percent came to the villages of Kalmyk via assignment after graduation from an educational institution. Such a flow of migration, which has been organized by the state, is equalizing the proportion of workers of mental labor in the different regions and is promoting the convergence of the Soviet nations in the portion of the intelligentsia from the indigenous nationality.

3. Villages, in which the intensity is more than 10 percent, are assigned to the villages with a great intensity of migration; villages, in which the balance is less than 1 percent of the average annual number of inhabitants of the village, are assigned to stable villages.

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[By Doctor of Medical Sciences Vladimir Mikhaylovich Lupandin, head of the Department of Oligophrenia of the Moscow Scientific Research Institute of Psychiatry of the RSFSR Ministry of Health]

WOMAN--THE PRODUCTION LEADER: PROFESSIONAL AND EVERYDAY SITUATION, pp 102-107

[By Tat'yana Nikolayevna Sidorova, senior research association of the Sector for the study of Problems of Trade Union Activity Among Women of the Scientific Research Department of the Higher School of the Trade Union Movement of the AUCCTU]

THE USE OF FREE TIME BY FEMALE KOLKHOZ FARMERS, pp 108-110

[By Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Stanislav Flegontovich Frolov, chief of the Sector of Labor Sociology and Social Planning of the Scientific Research Department of the Higher School of the Trade Union Movement of the AUCCTU, and candidate of Philosophical Sciences Galina Georgiyevna Markova, docent of the Chair of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy of Stavropol' Agricultural Institute

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[Article by Anatoliy Ignat'yevich Levko, senior research associate of the Sector of Applied Sociology of the Belorussian University imeni V.I. Lenin]

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[Article by V.G. Andreyenkov]

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES AND THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PARTY WORK

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1980 pp 215-218

/Article by A. G. Larionov/

/Text/ In the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" it is emphasized that "ideological work should be raised to a higher qualitative level, which conforms to the requirements of mature socialism, to the new tasks of the building of communism," and special attention must "be devoted to the thorough and comprehensive study of public opinion and to sociological studies."[1] In Kurganskaya Oblast they have now become firmly established in the practice of party work, having overcome the distrust in them, which existed at first among some experienced workers.

The Laboratory of Concrete Sociological Research attached to the Kurganskaya Oblast Committee of the CPSU was set up back in 1955. Scientists of the higher educational institutions of Kurgan and Shadrinsk, experienced, ideologically trained workers of party and public organizations and ideological institutions became members of it. The laboratory was given the task of increasing the scientific level of the studies being conducted in the oblast. Their program and methods are examined without fail in the council of the laboratory. Meetings are convened as required, but no less often than once a month.

The study of the level of religiosity of the population of the village of Kamyshnoye of Pritobol'nyy Rayon and of the village of Krasnyy Yar of Shchuchanskiy Rayon, which was conducted on the basis of the methods developed by scientists of the higher educational institutions, is characteristic of the activity of the laboratory during its development. The recommendations on the improvement of atheistic propaganda were studied by all the party organizations of the oblast, these questions were discussed for the first time at the meetings of communists.

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1. "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," KOMMUNIST, No 7, 1979, pp 13, 17.

The work of the sociological service convinced the party, soviet and economic aktiv more and more that without a scientific approach it is impossible to achieve an increase of the level of ideological work and the increase of the effectiveness of all its activity. Sociological studies began to be regarded as an important source of information on the effectiveness of various forms and methods of work with people and of the principles of the scientific approach to questions of ideological, educational and organizational work. The party committees began to rely more boldly on the results of sociological studies when preparing questions for discussion and working out ideological measures.

The council of the laboratory studied closely the experience of other oblasts in using sociological studies in party work, having organized a number of seminars, conferences and applied science conferences. The Applied Science Conference "Sociopsychological Problems of Increasing the Effectiveness of the Activity of Production Collectives," which was held jointly with the Institute of Psychology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was of great importance. Its recommendations were conducive to the introduction of sociological studies in the practice of the work of party organizations and economic organs.

This work was raised to a new, higher qualitative level in 1976, when the bureau of the oblast committee of the CPSU adopted the special decree "On the Status of and Measures to Improve the Planning of the Economic and Social Development of Labor Collectives." It analyzed the experience of the use of sociological studies by the oblast party organizations and called for the creation of a special oblast council, the tasks of which included:

the stimulation of the attention of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organs toward questions of the comprehensive economic and social development of labor collectives;

the monitoring of the increase of the scientific level of the economic and social plans of the development of the labor collectives, cities and rayons of the oblast for the long-range future and of the conducting of sociological studies on urgents problems of socio-economic development and ideological work;

the coordination of sociological studies in labor collectives throughout the oblast as a whole, the use of their results in improving economic activity and increasing the level of ideological and educational work among the workers;

the training of specialists in applied sociology, the training of party, soviet and managerial workers and specialists in matters of the theory and practice of economic and social planning;

the regular generalization and popularization of the advanced know-how of drafting and implementing the plans of economic and social development of collectives, cities and rayons of the oblast, the conducting of sociological studies.

After the organization of the oblast council, the formation of similar public organs was begun on the rayon level. The system of rayon economic and social planning commissions, which were headed by the first secretaries of the rayon committees of the CPSU or the chairmen of the rayon soviet executive committees, showed its worth. Nonstaff sociological groups were set up in these commissions.

At present in the oblast special laboratories for conducting concrete studies are being organized at higher educational institutions. This work is being performed most actively at Kurgan Pedagogical Institute, the scientists of which for the first time in the oblast drafted plans of the social development of industrial enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The following fact attests to the great attention which party organizations began to devote to these problems: whereas in 1975 only 3 of the 23 party committees discussed in the bureaus the problems of improving the planning of the economic and social development of labor collectives and using sociological studies in ideological work, in 1976 there were already 18 of them.

As a result of all these measures during the 10th Five-Year Plan 80 percent of the collectives of industry, construction and transportation and 70 percent of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes have been working according to comprehensive plans. Economic and social planning in the oblast has gone beyond the collective. At present 19 rayon comprehensive plans of social development have been compiled and are being implemented. In the structure of each plan there is the section "The Improvement of the Forms and Means of Ideological and Educational Work," for the elaboration of which the results of sociological studies are used extensively.

At first the dissemination of sociological studies was checked by the lack of personnel. This problem was solved first of all through the system of party education. A department of organizers of sociological research, from which 180 people have graduated, was set up on the basis of the University of Marxism-Leninism. Enrollment in the department was carried out so that in every city and rayon there were five or six graduates of the university, who joined the sociological groups of the party committees. These sociologist-public workers jointly with scientists of the higher educational institutions of the city conducted a number of studies on problems of ideological work, the results of which were used in the activity of the party committees. In three years the propaganda and agitation department of the oblast committee of the CPSU organized 16 sociological studies for the investigation of various ideological problems, including the effectiveness of the system of Marxist-Leninist and economic education.

The data of sociological studies are used extensively in the practical work of the oblast committee of the CPSU. For example, a study which covered more than 1,000 people preceded the examination of the question "On the Work of the Belozerskiy Rayon Committee of the CPSU on Enlisting Executives, Specialists and the Rural Intelligentsia in the Ideological and Political Education of the Workers." It was found out that nearly 70 percent of the

chairmen of kolkhozes, directors of sovkhozes, department managers, chiefs of farms and brigade leaders take part in lecture, propaganda and agitation activity. They delivered two-thirds of all the lectures and reports, they are the main lecturers of the people's universities and head the schools of communist labor. At the same time the participation of the different categories of executives and specialists in educational work is far from identical, and especially that of middle-level managers. It is being checked by their low level of political and occupational training. It turned out that for the most part these executives do not have a secondary education. However, far from all of them are studying, although opportunities exist for this. The generalization of the results of the study made it possible to outline steps on the further enhancement of the role of specialists in educational work.

Many city committees and rayon committees of the CPSU have gained abundant experience in using sociological studies in the practice of party work. The study of the free time of the workers of the department of Sel'khoztekhnika of Belozerskiy Rayon is interesting in this respect. The questionnaire survey showed that many workers of this enterprise spend their free time purposelessly. During the month only 60 percent of those surveyed had gone to the movies and 20 percent had gone to concerts. All this adversely affected their sociopolitical and labor activeness. With allowance made for the results of the study ideological and educational work was stepped up at the enterprise and labor and leisure were better organized. The situation changed radically. The collective of the department of Sel'khoztekhnika began to deal more successfully with the plans, a large number of outstanding workers and people, who skillfully combine production affairs with public affairs, appeared in it. This collective now has the best sportsmen in the rayon. The amateur artistic work has been revived, violations of labor discipline have been eliminated. At present the rayon committee of the CPSU on the basis of this party organization is conducting seminars of agitators, political information officers and the heads of agitation collectives.

It should be emphasized that the results of the conducted studies were not only of local importance. They enabled the rayon committee of the CPSU to elaborate an entire system of measures on the improvement of ideological and educational work both in the labor collectives and at the place of residence. Questions of the improvement of skills and the training of workers and kolkhoz farmers, lessons with rationalizers, the visiting of exhibitions, the attendance of plays, the viewing and discussion of new movies, the holding of recreation evenings, the arrangement of celebrations in honor of outstanding workers, the celebration of anniversaries and initiation into the ranks of the workers and kolkhoz farmers began to be envisaged in the plans of work of the party organizations. Councils for the organization of the competition for the settlement and house of the exemplary way of life, as well as of the holidays of the village were set up at the place of residence.

At the major industrial enterprises of the oblast, which have more than 3,000 employees, sociological studies are now being conducted by staff workers or with their participation. They began to appear here for the first time in 1965. At present all these enterprises have sociological services.

The sociologists of the plant of wheeled tractors have gained interesting experience. They work in close contact with the party committee, which plans the themes of the sociological studies and determines the goals and forms for conducting them. Thus, the study of the activity of the party organization of one of the plant shops on increasing the production and sociopolitical activeness of the members of the collective made it possible to establish that here the peculiarities of the sociodemographic structure are not taken into account in the work on the unification of the collective and the creation in it of a favorable sociopsychological atmosphere. A decree of the party committee and an order of the plant director, in which measures on improving the work of the shop were outlined, were issued with allowance made for the recommendations of the sociologists. In the process of drafting the plan of the economic and social development of the collective the plant sociologists gathered and analyzed a large amount of economic and social information and conducted a series of studies to identify the factors which increase the labor and political activeness of the members of the labor collectives, the business and personality traits of the middle-level managers, and studies the structure of the nonworking time of the plant workers. On their initiative a lecture bureau for executives--"The Sociopsychological Aspects of the Management of the Labor Collective"--is in operation at the enterprise, while a faculty of sociopsychological knowledge is in operation at the people's university of technical and economic knowledge. The sociologists have elaborated methods of studying the sociopsychological climate, as well as compiled social certificates of the collectives of all the shops and divisions on this basis.

An interesting study of the sociopsychological aspects of the formation and management of the production collective was conducted at the Kurgan Machine Building Plant imeni V. I. Lenin. Here the business and personality traits of the executive, their influence on the solution of production problems, the selection and placement of personnel, the presence of creative elements in the labor of the workers, the culture and living conditions of the workers and the influence of these factors on the training of a goal-seeking, politically mature and spiritually developed collective were studied. The results of the studies were used in the practice of the work of the party committee and were the basis for the comprehensive plan of the economic and social development of the plant.

At present work is being carried out on uniting the efforts of the plant sociologists and the scientists of the higher educational institutions for the study of a number of urgent practical problems. Thus, the sociologists of the Kurganpribor Association jointly with staff members of the Kurgan Machine Building Plant are conducting a study on the theme "The Effectiveness of Management."

Thus, sociological studies have become a mighty lever of the search for effective forms of the ideological and educational work of party organizations, the drive for the increase of labor productivity and product quality and for the improvement of the organization of the leisure and relaxation of workers. Their role in the drafting of the comprehensive plans of ideological work of the party committees for the long-range future has especially increased. The data obtained as a result of sociological studies make it possible always to be well informed about events, to orient oneself better in a situation, to know the hopes and mood of the workers, to see the really urgent problems and to find the optimum ways to solve them.

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[The following articles were not translated by JPRS]

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THE DISCUSSION OF THE MATERIALS OF 'SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA' ON PROBLEMS OF IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL EDUCATIONAL WORK, pp 229-230

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF PRODUCTION, pp 231-232

[Review by A.A. Myasnikov of the book "Sotsial'nyye problemy proizvodstva" (Social Problems of Production) edited by V.G. Podmarkov, Moscow, "Mysl'", 1979, 292 pages]

SOCIOLOGICAL INFORMATION, pp 233-235

[Review by A.G. Kuznetsov of the book "Sotsiologicheskaya informatsiya" (Sociological Information) by G.I. Saganenko, Leningrad, 1979, 144 pages]

MEASUREMENT RELIABILITY IN THE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY, pp 235-237

[Review by E.P. Andreyev and Ye.L. Shrayber of the book "O nadezhdnosti izmereniya v sotsiologicheskom issledovanii" (On Measurement Reliability in the Sociological Study) by B.Z. Doktorov, Leningrad, "Nauka", 1979, 120 pages]

THE USSR CONSTITUTION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORY OF POLITICAL RIGHTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1980 pp 237-239

/Review by V. P. Kazimirchuk and Ye. V. Kumanin of the book "Konstitutsiya SSSR i razvitiye politiko-pravovoy teorii" (The USSR Constitution and the Development of the Theory of Political Rights) by D. A. Kerimov, Moscow, "Mysl'", 1979, 244 pages/

/Text/ The new USSR Constitution is "a mighty stimulus for the further improvement of the entire system of sociopolitical relations."[1] In determining its prospects the science of state and law, which uses sociological research extensively and productively for this purpose, is called upon to play an important role. The integrative approach in perceiving state and legal phenomena is categorically defended in the work being reviewed. The author opposes any attempts to "cut off" jurisprudence--in the name of its "purity"--from the influence of other sciences, including sociology, showing that the overcoming of the many theoretical difficulties in the modern theory of state and law is possible first of all by the more comprehensive "sociologization" of legal thought.

The inspiration of the work lies in the revelation of the influence of the new USSR Constitution on the theory and practice of state and law and in the establishment of the importance of the sociological approach for the study of the problems of political rights of mature socialism. This presumes, on the one hand, the demonstration of the social dependence of political and legal institutions and, on the other, the revelation of the active role of the law. The search for the optimum forms of the legal regulation of social relations requires the identification of the factors and methods, which ensure the possibilities and conditions of such regulation. The importance of the legal guarantee of the functioning of the economic mechanism, the political system and the protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens should especially be emphasized.

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1. M. A. Suslov, "A Matter of the Entire Party," PRAVDA, 17 October 1979.

D. A. Kerimov is correct when he asserts that although the study of the normative attributes of the law, its structural features and the forms and methods of processing legal material is an important and necessary aspect of the study, this is insufficient for revealing the genesis, functioning and development of political and legal institutions. The standards of the law and its formal attributes are filled with a real content to the extent to which they are implemented during the exercise of rights and the observance of duties by the subjects of social relations.

In this connection the fundamental problems of social and political rights theory, including questions of the further development of socialist democracy, the political system of mature socialism, the constitutional conditions of the increase of the sociopolitical acitveness of the individual, the purposeful exercise of the law as a means of state control and so on, are analyzed in the book.

The study of these problems is carried out in the monograph in close unity with the elaboration of a number of questions of the scientific methodology of studying state and legal institutions as components of the socio-economic system of the mature socialist society. The author proceeds from the fact that under present conditions sociological research, which makes it possible to obtain objective information, including of a legal nature, is acquiring greater and greater importance for the humanities. The opportunities to manage social processes not only on the macrolevel, but also on the microlevel are thereby increased (pp 180-181).

Having set himself the task to identify the main aspects of the most important political, state and legal institutions of the mature socialist society, the author comes to the conclusion: the building of theoretical models, which adequately reflect the essential features of the political system, is possible only in the framework of a uniform political science. The importance of the interaction of social, natural and technical disciplines in studying state and law is emphasized in the work. Jurisprudence, while experiencing the influence of all the main factors, phenomena and processes of social existence, at the same time plays the most important role in the matter of managing social processes and regulating relations in the political, economic, cultural and other spheres of the life of society. It is for this reason that state and law require both a systems and a comprehensive study by the methods and means of various sciences.

The study made by the author of modern problems of political and legal development and the role of the new USSR Constitution in this process is productive. A number of theoretically and practically interesting and important conclusions are formulated in the monograph. Thus, the idea of the need to elaborate a general theoretical concept of socialist legislation is substantiated.

Its creation presumes, in the author's opinion, first of all the analysis of the process of the emergence of legal standards in integral unity with its main components: knowledge, activity and result. The enumerated

elements constitute a complete cycle of legislation, after which similar cycles, which form in their entirety the system of the legislative process, follow on a qualitatively new level (p 199). The main stages of this process are: the reflection and analysis of one sphere or another of objective reality in the legislative consciousness; the transition from the legislative consciousness to objectively prevailing legal standards; the latter acts as the immediate social result of legislative activity.

Considerable attention is devoted in the work to a very important, but so far poorly studied problem--the role of cognition in the course of legislation. Interpreting it as a special kind of social cognition, D. A. Kerimov singles out the following specific traits of this process: the dialectic combination in it of three different types (or levels) of consciousness: everyday, practical and theoretical; the collective nature of legislation; the ability to project social relations (the anticipatory reflection of reality) (pp 207-211).

The sociological orientation of the book being reviewed was also expressed in the author's substantiation of the need for a broad understanding of law, its interpretation not only as a legal category, but also as a complex political, ethical, cultural and sociopsychological phenomenon. This is manifested both in the system of standards of the law and in legal policy, legal principles, in the process of the formation of law and legislation, in the implementation of the standards of the law, in legality and law and order (pp 164-175).

For all the merits of the book not everything in it turned out to be equally successful. Thus, in our opinion, the author should have devoted more attention to the sociological analysis of some of the problems raised, which would have made it possible to outline new ways to solve them. For example, when analyzing legislative cognition it should have been shown, precisely which social factors are responsible for the high level of legislative activity itself. The maximum utilization of positive, favorable factors and, on the contrary, the identification and elimination of the negative ones would be conducive to the dynamic formation of effective legal standards.

It seems that in a number of sections of his book D. A. Kerimov could have drawn more completely and extensively on the already accumulated empirical material and could have shown how to better use the sociological set of tools and where, especially as he was himself the director of and a participant in many comprehensive social and legal studies, which have been conducted in recent times in various regions of the country. This would have made his polemics with opponents on urgent problems of modern jurisprudence more persuasive.

On the whole the new book of D. A. Kerimov is a serious and multi-aspectual study of problems of political rights, which have been taken in the context of the real practice of constitutional law, it attests to the need for the further development of the general theory of law as a component of the vast body of knowledge, which is the basis for the scientific management of socialist society.

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